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NEUTRALITY AND BENEVOLENCE.

COUNT BERNSTORFF has the merit of having introduced both a novel idea and a new phrase into the discussions on international law. "Benevolent Neutrality," and the notion the words convey, seem very fine till they are looked into. But, as Lord Granville has shown, neither the idea nor the phrase will stand examination. As neutrality is the product of war, and as there is nothing benevolent about war, there can hardly be any true benevolence about neutrality. Benevolent neutrality, as Count Bernstorff himself defines it, simply means one-sided neutrality; that is, no neutrality at all, for the moment a neutral inclines more to one belligerent than to another he ceases of necessity to be a neutral, and becomes, as far as

his benevolence develops into action, a belligerent himself. It is impossible for a by-stander to favour one party to a quarrel—and that is exactly what Count Bernstorff asks us to do—and yet be perfectly impartial; which is the meaning of nations remaining neutral during war. Individual members of the agglomeration called a nation may have opinions and sympathies for or against parties engaged in war, as has been the case with us in England during the present contest; and may give expression to these opinions and sympathies, as has also been the case with us here in England; but in their official and collective capacity—that is, as represented by their Government—a neutral people, if they mean to be really neutral, can show opinions

and sympathies neither on one side nor the other. We should have thought this principle so plain that no question could arise as to its application. Strict law and equal justice are the only rules to be followed in such circumstances. Sentiment, sympathy, feeling, favour, benevolence, partiality, in however slight a degree, are totally inadmissible; and we feel certain the Germans, calm and sound reasoners as they usually are, will see that this must be so, when the excitement and passion of the hour have passed away.

Count Bernstorff's reasoning, moreover, besides being erroneous as to general principles, is likewise faulty as to details. Public opinion in England, he says, deemed



CAPTURE OF AN ENVOY FROM MARSHAL BAZAINE, NEAR METZ.—(SEE PAGE 206.)

Germany in the right and France in the wrong as to the origin of this quarrel; and therefore we are bound, as a nation, to give effect to our feelings by imparting a "benevolent" character to our neutrality; that is to say, we ought to aid the right and discourage the wrong. And so far as the expression of individual opinion is concerned, he is warranted in his claim. Indeed, he had already obtained all he could ask for on this head. A majority of the people of this country did think Germany wantonly attacked; they sympathised with, and wished her success, because they thought so, and for no other reason. That is true; but it is also true, that many Englishmen, without, as we think, having any good reason for their feeling, sympathised with France, and therefore wished her success. Now, as our Government exists for the whole nation, and not for a part only, it was not at liberty to give effect to the feelings of the sympathisers with Germany when by doing so it must have done violence to the feelings of the sympathisers with France. While striving to be just towards the belligerents, our Government was bound to be just also, and in the first instance, to its own people.

Besides, this new theory of benevolent neutrality is not capable of universal and continuous application, as all laws ought to be: it is liable to change with changing circumstances. Supposing—which is not at all impossible of occurrence—that Germany, from being in the right, should put herself in the wrong, or that a preponderance of public opinion in Great Britain should think her so, then the benevolent neutrality of England would have to change sides, as, in the event supposed, public sympathy undoubtedly would change. Of what value would benevolent neutrality be to Germany then? The doctrine Count Bernstorff lays down would in that case militate against his country in a much more effective way than the legal neutrality practised by our Government has hitherto done. The change of the form of government in France, though that change is as yet but nominal, and it may be only temporary, has already had a marked effect upon the opinions and feelings of a portion of the English people, albeit a not very deep-thinking portion, and who, perhaps, are falling into the mistake of accepting a name for a thing. France republican is to them a very different thing from France imperial; they are apt to forget the sins of the latter in their sympathy with the former; and if our neutrality is to take a colour from our feelings—or the feelings of a majority amongst us—it may come to pass that our "benevolence" may have a very decided leaning towards France and against Germany. And how would Count Bernstorff relish that state of things, which, nevertheless, would be a legitimate result and a logical application of his doctrine of "benevolent neutrality?" If we permit public opinion and sympathy to govern our national official action towards belligerents at one period, we must allow them to govern it at other periods: with this result, that there must cease to be any element of stability in our international policy; that we must be benevolent towards one belligerent to-day, malevolent towards the same belligerent to-morrow, and vice versa. In other words, that our Government must place itself in the absurd position of being everything by turns and nothing long; that it should favour Germany at one period of the contest and France at another, according as the tide of public opinion and sympathy ebbs and flows. That, surely, is not the course the Government of a nation like Great Britain can consent to follow. The only safe rule is to act on the strict letter of law, and permit no other influence whatever to intervene.

Had Count Bernstorff adopted the legal line of argument, and proved that permitting the export of warlike implements and materials to France—if it be true that such export is in progress to any appreciable extent—was contrary to international law (that is, to rules universally accepted among nations), he would have been on solid ground. But that was a line of argument Count Bernstorff could not take in the face of antecedent facts in Prussian history; and consequently he confesses that the neutrality of Prussia *in re* Russia and England and France in 1854-5 was a one-sided, or a "benevolent" neutrality, as he prefers to call it; and argues in this very odd fashion: Because the neutrality of Prussia during the Crimean War was unfair in consequence of Prussia feeling kindly disposed towards Russia and disliking France, therefore Great Britain is bound to be unfair in her neutrality now in consequence of thinking Germany right and France wrong. But two wrongs do not make a right; the fact that Prussia practised a partial neutrality in 1854-5 cannot justify Great Britain in practising a partial neutrality in 1870, and that partiality can neither be covered up nor destroyed by calling it "benevolent." Conduct that is benevolent to one belligerent must necessarily be malevolent to the other. And thus we are brought back once more to the simple principle that strict law is the only safe guide in such matters. If Count Bernstorff merely wished to place on record the protest of Germany against France receiving arms and ammunition from England, and did not expect his doctrine of "benevolent neutrality" to be acted upon, well and good—his protest is certain to be received by England as courteously as was ours by Prussia in 1854-5; but if that be all he looked for, it was hardly worth while taking so much trouble to accomplish so little; and he has laid his country open to a very pointed *tu quoque* argument, which, in such a controversy, has a most damaging effect.

We do not by any means sympathise with those of our fellow-subjects, if such there be, who make profit out of the misfortunes of neighbouring nations by engaging in extraordinary, though lucrative, traffic. Our feelings may revolt against such sordid practices; but that is beside the question. We have nothing to do, in a matter of this sort, with senti-

ment; we are concerned only with what is right and reasonable. The Government might prohibit the export of arms to belligerents, and, indeed, to all the world; but it would do so in virtue of municipal, not of international law; and we protest against the assumption that any foreign Government is entitled to dictate to us as to when, and how, we should put our municipal laws into operation. If we do take action in this direction, parties who think themselves aggrieved if that action be ineffective may have a right to complain of its ineffectiveness; but we must retain to ourselves the sole right of judging as to the necessity for action at all. In such a matter we can admit no dictation; otherwise we should abdicate our independence and place ourselves at the bidding of others. We protest, too, against the growing tendency to increase the privileges of belligerents and circumscribe the rights and freedom of neutrals, because we think that tendency has proceeded too far, and ought to be checked. Peoples who engage in warfare are disturbers of the public peace, whatever their cause of quarrel may be; and it is for them to confine the mischief thereby caused within as narrow limits as possible, and especially are they bound to take care of their own interests. They have no right whatever to throw the onus of that task upon neutrals, who are sufficiently inconvenienced by the mere existence of a state of war, without being called upon to perform the duties pertaining to belligerents as well. We discussed this question a week or two ago, and need only repeat now what we said then—that, if Germany has not been able, from the accident of being overmatched at sea, to make the same use of the English markets as France, that is Germany's misfortune, but it is not England's fault, and cannot justly be made a ground of complaint against her. If we are to be called upon to make good, in any degree, Germany's weakness at sea, we might also be called upon to make good France's weakness on land; which would render us participants in the war, active belligerents, and not neutrals at all—a position which neither our Government nor people will consent to occupy to please any party whatever, foreign or domestic.

Foreign Intelligence.

FRANCE.

Lord Lyons and the entire personnel of the British Embassy, with the exception of the Hon. H. Wodehouse, who remains in charge of the interests of such of his countrymen as still continue in the French capital, quitted Paris, last Saturday evening, for Tours. Most of the other representatives of foreign Powers have likewise removed to Tours.

Resolutions have been passed at Lyons (where a "Red," or Socialist, Republic has been proclaimed) that, in case of Paris capitulating, the right to surrender will not be recognised, but that the people will defend their country to the last man.

A decree of the Government of Defence has been issued, which confers promotion upon the present Minister of War. The decree states that, "considering that General Le Flo, representative of the people, who was struck off the army list on account of his resistance to the coup-d'état of Dec. 2, 1851, has been restored to all his rights by the decree of Sept. 12, 1870, it is now decreed that General of Brigade Le Flo is restored to the army with the rank of General of Division, dating from Dec. 2, 1851."

The Government of Defence have decided to construct a complete system of barricade defences, and M. Rochefort has been appointed president of the Construction Committee.

M. de la Guéronnière, who arrived at Marseilles on Tuesday, was arrested and conveyed to the prison of St. Pierre.

A rumour, as yet unconfirmed, states that an insurrection has commenced among the Arab tribes of Southern Algeria. A detachment of Chasseurs d'Afrique, which arrived at Marseilles from Algeria, has re-embarked for Oran.

The Emperor Napoleon is preparing at Wilhelmshöhe a manifesto to the French people. M. de Girardin is actively engaged in making arrangements for the reassembling at Limoges of the members of the late French Senate and the Corps Législatif.

The five classes of the French Institute have decided, by a unanimous vote, that a protest shall be drawn up, in the prospect of a possible bombardment of the monuments, libraries, and museums of Paris. This protest, put forth in the universal interest of literature, science, and art, will be addressed to all academies throughout the world, and also to all foreign corresponding members of the Institute of France, who will be invited to join this manifestation by publicly assenting to it.

General Cluseret, the writer in the *Marseillaise* who has been disowned by M. Rochefort, continues to post placards throughout Paris, with the object of setting up a secret Government. M. Blanqui, "the younger," as he used to be called, who has spent a great part of his life in prison, or in exile, or on the barricades, has appeared in Paris, and started a new paper, called *La Patrie en Danger*. The following extract shows that he has not in the least changed:—"A silent struggle between two different currents is felt to exist. Which will prevail—the enthusiasm of the masses or the guile of the few? Alas! we are possibly on the eve of witnessing a most sinister dénouement to this eternal antagonism. The resistance against the enemy is but skin deep; submission to the enemy lurks beneath an assumed appearance of defiance."

The Paris papers assess the personal income of the Emperor and Empress at 200,000,000*fr.*

The last journals received from Paris contain strong complaints of the passive resistance of the peasantry to the Republic, and their apathy as regards the defence of the country. Near Metz, and in some parts of Alsace, a few of them, provoked to resentment by the personal pressure of the war, commit outrages, and are immediately executed; but as a rule they show themselves disposed to make terms with the passing enemy, and get off as cheaply as they can. The Franks-Tireurs are feared more than the Prussians, as they get the rural population into trouble. It is not true that the German commanders refuse to recognise the Franks-Tireurs as soldiers. Wherever they are met wearing a distinctive dress, and under the command of a commissioned French officer, they are treated as combatants, entitled to the protection of the laws of war.

SPAIN.

The Government have ratified the official recognition of the French Republic by Senor Olozaga. The *Pais* states that no agreement has as yet been arrived at between the Deputies of the Republican minority on the subject of a manifesto to be issued. Senor Castelar is of opinion that there is little hope for an agreement.

Thirty cases of yellow fever were reported at Barcelona on Tuesday.

ITALY.

Rome is at last the capital of Italy, having been surrendered to the Italian forces on Tuesday; but the Royal troops did not

enter without a struggle. The Pope himself, it appears, wished to avoid the useless shedding of blood, but his Zouaves refused for some time to obey his orders to that effect, and disputed for four hours with the Italian army the possession of the Eternal City. The fighting, however, was more to save honour than with a view of protecting the city. Joyful demonstrations have taken place in Florence. The people surrounded the belfry-tower and compelled the keeper to ring the great bell.

GERMANY.

The announcement is semi-officially made in Berlin that "the further unity of Germany is to be secured for all future time by new political institutions."

General von Steinmetz has been relieved of the command of the First Army, and is appointed Governor-General of Posen. This measure has been adopted in consequence of a double command being no longer necessary before Metz.

The Prussian Civil Governor of Alsace has issued a proclamation to the Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish clergy. It declares that all are to retain their present rights and stipends. The Church will not be interfered with by the State, but ecclesiastics preaching, speaking, or acting against existing authorities will be punished by military law.

Bavaria has sent a battery of new mitrailleuses of Bavarian invention to the army. It fires 350 bullets per minute.

The Vicar of the Archdiocese of Freiburg having proclaimed the Infallibility and other votes of Council, the Baden Government has prohibited these decrees from being carried out, so far as they are incompatible with the existing laws of the State.

The number of French prisoners in Germany is 140,000 privates, 62 generals, and 4800 officers. Among them is Colonel Palikao, son of the late Minister, who is at Wesel. His mother is at Cologne.

AUSTRIA.

The Reichsrath was opened, last Saturday, by the Emperor of Austria. There is a bare allusion to the war between France and Prussia. The Emperor deprecates the absence of the Bohemian deputies.

HOLLAND.

The States-General were opened, on Monday, at the Hague, by the King. He said that the friendly relations which had subsisted hitherto between Holland and foreign Powers had in no way been disturbed by the war.

RUSSIA.

The Emperor of Russia, in a letter to the King of Saxony, has conferred the Order of St. George of the Second Class on the Crown Prince, as a "fresh proof of his respect and friendship."

The Russians, it is reported, are strengthening their garrisons in Poland and Volhynia. Seven divisions of infantry have been sent to the province of Kieff to line the Galician frontier. A military commission has been appointed at St. Petersburg to create a medical reserve force of 1000 surgeons.

THE UNITED STATES.

Some hundred French recruits who were about to proceed to Europe, have been removed from the French steamer *Lafayette* by the United States Marshal. The Marshal acted under a warrant issued under an affidavit of the North German Consul, declaring that a violation of the neutrality laws was intended.

CHINA.

By a telegram from Hong-Kong, dated the 1st instant, we learn that the feeling against foreigners throughout China is increasing, and that a general rising against them is expected. The French Minister had declared that he would haul down his flag if the heads of the Mandarins concerned in the Tien-Tsin massacre were not delivered by Aug. 31.

INDIA.

The Ameer of Afghanistan's son, Yakoob, who rebelled and went to Herat, is reported near Candahar, where the Governor opposed him. The gates of Kalat-I-Ghilzie and other towns were closed against Yakoob, but the rebellion is becoming widespread. The Ameer remains in Cabul.

A telegram from Calcutta states that recent floods, while destroying the early crops, have benefited the later ones in many districts.

SECOND CIRCULAR FROM M. JULES FAVRE.

M. JULES FAVRE has issued a circular, dated last Saturday, in order to explain the decree which hastens the elections to the Constituent Assembly, and the resolution to convoke that body as soon as possible, in which he says:—

I will sum up our entire policy. In accepting the perilous task which was imposed upon us by the fall of the Imperial Government, we had but one idea—namely, to defend our territory, to save our honour, and to give back to the nation the power emanating from itself, and which it alone could exercise. We should have wished that this great act might have been completed without transition; but the first necessity was to face the enemy. We have not the pretension to ask disinterestedness of Russia. We take account of the feelings to which the greatness of her losses and the natural exaltation of victory have given rise in her. These feelings explain the violence of the press, which we are far from confounding with the inspirations of statesmen. These latter will hesitate to continue an impious war, in which more than 200,000 men have already fallen. To impose unacceptable conditions upon France would only be forcibly continuing the war. It is objected that the Government is without regular power to be represented. It is for this reason that we immediately summon a freely-elected Assembly. We do not attribute to ourselves any other privilege than that of giving our soul and our blood to our country, and we abide by its sovereign judgment. It is therefore not authority reposed in us for a day, it is immortal France uprising before Prussia, France divested of the shroud of the Empire, free, generous, and ready to immolate herself for liberty and liberty, disavowing all political conquest, all violent propaganda, having no other ambition than to remain mistress of herself and to develop her moral and material forces, and to work fraternally with her neighbours for the progress of civilisation.

It is that France which, left to her free action, immediately asks the cessation of the war, but prefers its disasters a thousand times to dishonour. Vainly those who set loose a terrible scourge try now to escape the crushing responsibility by falsely alleging that they yielded to the wish of the country. This calumny may delude people abroad, but there is no one among us who does not refute it as an assertion of revolting bad faith. The motto of the elections in 1869 was peace and liberty, and the plébiscite itself adopted it as its programme. It is true that the majority of the Legislative Body cheered the warlike declarations of the Duc de Gramont, but a few weeks previously it had also cheered the peaceful declarations of M. Ollivier. A majority emanating from personal power believed itself obliged to follow docilely, and voted trustingly. But there is not a sincere person in Europe who could affirm that France, freely consulted, made war against Prussia.

I do not draw the conclusion from this that we are not responsible; we have been wrong, and are cruelly expiating our having tolerated a Government which led us to ruin. Now we admit the obligation to repair, in a measure of justice, the ill it has done. But if the Power with which it has so seriously compromised us takes advantage of our misfortunes to overwhelm us, we shall oppose a desperate resistance, and it will remain well understood that it is the nation, properly represented in a freely-elected assembly, that this Power wishes to destroy. This being the question raised, each one will do his duty.

Fortune has been hard with us, but she has unlocked-for revolutions, which our determination will call forth. Europe begins to be moved, and sympathy for us is being awakened. The sympathies of foreign Cabinets console us, and do us honour. They will be deeply struck by the noble attitude of Paris in the midst of so many redoubtable causes for excitement. Serious, confident, ready for the utmost sacrifices, the nation, in arms, descends into the arena without looking back, and having before its eyes this simple but great duty—the defence of its homes and independence. I request you, Sir, to enlarge upon these truths to the representative of the Government to which you are accredited. He will see their importance, and will thus obtain a just idea of our disposition.

The Ambassadors of Austria and England and the Chargé d'Affaires of Russia left Paris yesterday morning for Tours, in order to be able to keep up uninterrupted intercourse with their Governments. They will not cease to be in communication with the Minister for Foreign Affairs in Paris. The Ministers of the United States, Belgium, and Switzerland have informed M. Jules Favre that they will remain with him."

THE FOURTEENTH ANNUAL CONGRESS OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION commenced on Wednesday evening at Newcastle-on-Tyne, the inaugural address being delivered by his Grace the Duke of Northumberland.

BRITISH NEUTRALITY.

THE following correspondence has passed between the Ambassador of the North German Confederation and the Secretary for Foreign Affairs:—

MEMORANDUM COMMUNICATED BY COUNT BERNSTORFF TO EARL GRANVILLE, SEPT. 1, 1870.

It would be waste of time at the present crisis to enter upon an exhaustive judicial examination of the existing neutrality laws and their ultimate bearing and scope. It is not too late, however, to glance in a practical manner at a question which every hour may cause fresh and momentous complications, especially as affecting national susceptibilities.

In the first instance, there is no question that France has wantonly made war on Germany. The verdict of the world, and especially the verdict of the statesmen as well as of the public of England, has unanimously pronounced the Emperor of the French guilty of a most flagrant breach of the peace. Germany, on the other hand, entered into the contest with the consciousness of a just cause. She was therefore led to expect that the neutrality of Great Britain, her former ally against Napoleon's aggression, however strict in form, would at least be benevolent in spirit to Germany; for it is impossible for the human mind not to side with one or the other party in a conflict like the present one. What is the use of being right or wrong in the eyes of the world if the public remains insensible to the merits of a cause? Those who deny the necessity of such a distinction forego the appeal to public opinion which we are duty bound to consider as the foremost of the great Powers. In examining from this point of view whether the neutrality of Great Britain has been practically benevolent as regards Germany, it is best to reverse the question and to put it in this shape:—If Germany had been the aggressor, and, consequently, condemned by public opinion, in what way could the Government and the people of the United Kingdom have been able to avoid taking an active part in the struggle, and at the same time, to prove to France their benevolent intentions? Being short of coal, the French would have been allowed to find here all they needed for their naval expeditions. Their preparations for war not being so far advanced and not so complete as they first thought, the French would have found the manufacturers of arms and ammunition in this country ready to supply them with, and the British Government willing not to prevent their obtaining here, all the material they wanted. This, we think, would have been the utmost aid which Great Britain could have granted to France without transgressing the letter of the existing neutrality laws, had the parts of aggressor and attacked—of right and wrong—been the reverse of the present condition.

In the face of the continuous export of arms, ammunition, coal, and other war material from this country to France; in the face of facts openly made a boast of by the French Minister for War, and not denied by the British Government, it is not necessary to prove that the neutrality of Great Britain, far from being impartial towards that party which has been pronounced to be in the right, is, on the contrary, such as it might possibly have been if that party had been wrong in the eyes of the British people and Government. When defending the new Foreign Enlistment Act in Parliament the representatives of the Government declared that the law empowered the Executive to prevent the export of contraband of war, but that, in order to make it effectual, towards the belligerents, it ought to be generally enforced, and would thus even affect the commerce of this country with other neutrals. This statement, however, cannot be admitted, for there is no necessity to hamper the trade with neutral countries by preventing the exportation of contraband of war to the belligerents. Had the Government declared such exportation to the belligerents to be illegal, it would have remained an exception, subject to penalty if detected. The bona fide trade with neutrals would not in the least have been affected thereby. But the Government, far from doing this, refused even to accept such propositions as might have prevented direct or clandestine exportation of contraband of war to France; besides, it cannot be admitted that such prohibitive measures could in reality damage the regular and lawful trade of the English people at large. They would merely prevent some rapacious individuals from disregarding the verdict of the nation, and realising enormous profits, which never would have legitimately been made under ordinary circumstances. The rapid increase of the private fortunes of a few tradesmen by such ventures could not appreciably add to the national wealth of the country. But, on the other hand, the nation will be held morally responsible for the blood which is being shed through the agency of those individuals. It will be said that the war would have ended sooner, and that less German soldiers would have been killed and wounded had not the people and Government of England permitted such abuses. It hardly could be seriously meant to say that the Germans are at liberty to bring each case before their prize courts, for it would be out of place thus to taunt Germany with not being mistress of the seas. The question is whether England may escape the just reproach on the part of Germany of having greatly increased the advantage France already possesses at sea by fitting out her navy with the requisite material to attack the seaboard of Germany and annihilate its commerce, as well as of arming the French Garde Mobile with English breech-loaders, to be used against the German soldiers in the field. England will thus be accused of feeding a war which would have ended sooner had France been left dependent on her own resources. Hence the policy of the British Government, notwithstanding the verdict of public opinion in this country in favour of the German cause, is, if not intentionally, at least practically, benevolent to France, without there being any real foundation for the excuse that the commercial interests of this country would be seriously affected by a different course.

There is still another reason put forward by the British Government in reference to their line of action. It is the allusion to Prussian neutrality during the Crimean War. Germany is told to consider that at that time arms and ammunition were freely exported from Russia to Prussia; and arms of Belgian manufacture found their way to the same quarter through Prussian territory in spite of a decree issued by the Prussian Government prohibiting the transport of arms coming from foreign States. Lord Granville says, in his circular of the 11th inst., "that reflection upon these points may make the German nation inclined to take a juster view of the position now occupied by her Majesty's Government." All who recollect the political aspect of that time will admit that there is no real analogy between the two cases. At the period alluded to public opinion in Germany was very doubtful as to the wisdom of helping a Napoleon to become once more the arbiter of Europe. Besides, it was not a struggle for life and death between two nations equally matched, but it was a war waged in remote regions for remote interests by four Powers against one, without the national existence of England being in the least endangered. Had England alone been the enemy of Russia, the comparison of the two cases would be less wanting in point. However, it will be remembered how strongly Great Britain remonstrated at the time against the alleged wrong of Prussia. There is but one possible alternative. Either the complaints of the British Government were founded, or they were not. If they really were, how can it be maintained at present that the complaints of Germany are unfounded, should even the great difference of the two cases be entirely disregarded? By declaring the present grievances of Germany devoid of foundation, the British Government disavows implicitly the bitter charges they preferred at the time, and condemn the ill-feeling created by them, and partly entertained ever since in this country against Prussia. It is absolutely impossible to conciliate, with any show of reason and logic, defending the justice of these charges on one side and refusing on the other to acknowledge the present grievances of Germany to be well founded. This being true, there is but one motive which might be alleged as an excuse for the present policy of the British Government towards Germany. That is to apply the principle of retaliation for an alleged wrong done a long time ago, under circumstances completely different from the present situation in every possible respect. To establish in our times such a principle as a rule for the policy of a great nation would be too inconsistent with the general feeling and moral disposition of this country to admit of its being the intention of the British Government.

Should the position now occupied by the British Government in regard to Germany, notwithstanding the admitted justice of her cause, continue to be maintained, it would be difficult even for the staunchest advocate of friendship between England and Germany to persuade the German nation that they have been fairly dealt by.

Prussia House, Aug. 30, 1870.

EARL GRANVILLE TO COUNT BERNSTORFF.

Foreign Office, Sept. 15, 1870.

M. l'Ambassadeur,—I have the honour to assure your Excellency that her Majesty's Government have not failed to consider most carefully the arguments contained in the memorandum which you did me the honour to place in my hands on the 1st inst., and have studied them the more attentively as they contain matter which has not hitherto been imported into discussions upon the duties of neutrals.

The two principal positions assumed by your Excellency are, first, that the attitude of Great Britain towards Prussia in the present war should be that of a "benevolent neutrality"; and, secondly, that there is no analogy between the course adopted by Prussia when Great Britain was at war with Russia and that adopted by Great Britain now that Prussia is at war with France.

In examining these propositions her Majesty's Government are relieved from the necessity of entering at present into the question whether Great Britain is honestly fulfilling her duties as a neutral. The point raised by you goes far beyond this. It amounts to a demand that her neutrality should be, both in spirit and in practice, benevolent towards Prussia, and consequently, as it would seem, unfavourable towards France. Upon the declaration of hostilities her Majesty's Government publicly declared that they were desirous of maintaining their good relations with, and tendering their good offices to, both the belligerents, as far as was consistent with perfect neutrality. But the idea of a "benevolent neutrality," as explained by your Excellency, is new, and it consequently becomes necessary to consider what its meaning, and what would be its practical effect. It is obvious that your Excellency cannot intend to lay down a principle applicable only to the present war; rules of international law cannot be

confined to individual or exceptional cases; and this principle, if accepted, can only be so as a principle of international law, and, as such, susceptible of general application. Thus applied, then, its effect would be as follows: that on the outbreak of a war between two nations it would be the duty of each neutral to ascertain which belligerent was favoured by the public opinion of its subjects, and to assume an attitude of neutrality benevolent towards that belligerent. But such neutrality should not, as I gather from your Excellency's memorandum, be confined to sympathy, but should be exhibited in practice—that is to say, the measures adopted by each neutral should be favourable to one belligerent and proportionately unfavourable to the other. It seems hardly possible to push the examination further without finding ourselves met by insuperable difficulties. Where could the line be drawn between a departure from the usual practice, in order to confer material advantages on one belligerent State, and the exclusion of the other and a participation in hostilities? The sympathies of nations, as of individuals, are not invariably influenced by abstract considerations of right or wrong, but are swayed by material interests and other causes. Neutrals would probably, therefore, be found ranged on different sides. What would be the material relations of such neutrals? What their relations with the belligerent to whom they were opposed? It seems hardly to admit of doubt that neutrality, when it once departs from strict impartiality, runs the risk of altering its essence; and that the moment a neutral allows his proceedings to be biased by predilection for one of two belligerents he ceases to be a neutral. The idea, therefore, of benevolent neutrality can mean little less than the extinction of neutrality.

Passing to the second proposition laid down by your Excellency, that there is no real analogy between the conduct of Prussia in the Crimean War and that of Great Britain in the present war, I find that this proposition is mainly rested on the ground that Great Britain in the former war was not fighting single-handed, and that public opinion in Germany was not enlisted in favour of the cause for which she was contending. These two reasons may be brought under the same head, as both can only be adduced with any weight in justification of a position of benevolent neutrality; but, as this justification was not preferred at the time by Prussian statesmen in discussing this question, it will be useful to consider what was the attitude of Prussia during the war waged by Great Britain and her allies against Russia, and what were the motives alleged at the time for her assuming that attitude. During the whole of the war arms and other contraband of war were copiously supplied to Russia by the States of the Zollverein; regular agents for traffic were established at Berlin, Magdeburg, Königsberg, Posen, Bromberg, and other places, and no restraint was put upon their operations. But, besides this, although a decree was published in March, 1854, prohibiting the transit of arms from other countries, and a further decree in March, 1855, prohibiting also the transit of other contraband of war, the transit trade from Belgium continued in full activity throughout the war. The Prussian Government, when this state of things was brought to its notice, affirmed, not that it was justified in permitting these exports on the principle of "benevolent neutrality," but that it could not interfere with the course of trade; an answer which would seem to have been based rather on the principle that the first duty of Prussia, as a neutral, was to consider the interests of her own subjects, not those of the subjects of a country which had engaged itself in a war with which Prussia had no concern. Such was the attitude of Prussia at that time, and such her justification of that attitude. In what point does the analogy fail? Prussia was neutral then as Great Britain is now. Your Excellency alludes to the magnitude of the respective wars. A war in which the energies of five European Powers were taxed to the utmost can, perhaps, hardly be justly described as a war waged in remote regions for remote interests; but this point seems scarcely worthy of contention. Your Excellency can hardly mean to say that principles of this importance are to be decided on questions of degree. If no weightier objection than this can be adduced, the analogy would appear to be complete.

I now come to the dilemma in which your Excellency would place her Majesty's Government. You observe that Great Britain remonstrated strongly against the state of things above described, and you add that either those remonstrances were founded or they were not. If founded, how you ask, can the present complaints of Germany be held to be unfounded? Her Majesty's Government do not complain of the Prussian Government making an effort to alter a state of things which they conceive to be at this moment disadvantageous to them; but Her Majesty's Government are of opinion that the answers which the Prussian Government made during the Crimean War more than justify the reply which, to my great regret, I have been obliged on several occasions to make, and now again to repeat, to your Excellency. The nature of those answers will be seen on referring to the correspondence which passed at the time between the two Governments, which shows also the nature of the remonstrances addressed to Prussia by Great Britain. On ascertaining that the Prussian Government did not mean to restrict the export of arms or contraband of war of native origin, but intended to prohibit the transit of such articles, her Majesty's Government consulted the legal advisers of the Crown as to the extent to which they would be justified in making representations founded on their rights as belligerents. The answer was clear—that her Majesty's Government would be entitled to remonstrate only in the event of violation of Prussian law; and it will be found on reference to the correspondence that, though the large direct exportations from the States of the Zollverein certainly formed occasionally the subject of representations and discussions, the strong remonstrances to which your Excellency alludes were, with few exceptions, made on the subject of the continuous violation of the injunctions of the decrees forbidding the transit of arms, which violation was so systematic that in only one case, of the stoppage at Aix-la-Chapelle of some revolvers concealed in bales of cotton, were the Custom authorities successful in interposing a check on it. It is true that remonstrances were made on the receipt of a report, to which a full and complete contradiction was given, that rifles belonging to the Prussian Government had been sold to Russia, and of a report that waggons loaded with gunpowder had been e-corted to the frontier by Prussian police; but the distinction is obvious between these cases and cases affecting private individuals. I would, therefore, venture to remark that your Excellency's dilemma is more apparent than real. The course of Great Britain then and now is perfectly consistent. As she then remonstrated against infractions of Prussian law, so she now admits the justice of remonstrances against infractions of British law, such as storeships, enlistments, and others; and any cases of such infractions which your Excellency may bring under my notice shall receive the most prompt attention.

Your Excellency now requires alterations of practice and the creation or restrictions on trade in a sense favourable to Prussian interests. In face of these demands, I would put to your Excellency this question—When did Prussia renounce the principles on which she acted in 1854 and 1855, to which she adhered, as far as I am aware, when she again occupied the position of a neutral in the war waged by Austria with France and Italy in 1859, and in the war between the Northern and Southern States of America, and to which she has formally given her sanction in the treaties with the United States of 1870 and 1872?

So far I have confined my reply to the examination of what may appear to me to be the novel elements in your Excellency's arguments; but it now becomes my duty to address myself to the consideration of the statement made that the policy of her Majesty's Government has been practically benevolent to France, and that the British nation, which has not prevented the export to France of contraband of war and supplies useful for warlike purposes, will be held morally responsible for the blood which is being shed. I am glad to observe that your Excellency acquiesces in her Majesty's Government of adopting intentionally such a policy as you describe; and I have, consequently, only to deal with the practical point of view, which brings me to consider the following question:—Did Great Britain, when she found herself in the position of a neutral in face of a sudden and unexpected war, adopt an unusual policy and one unwarranted by precedent? Was her attitude in any way exceptional? There can be but one answer to this question. She adopted the course for which she had the clearest and most unquestionable precedent and authority, foreign as well as British; and which Prussia herself, as I have shown above, has invariably adopted in similar cases. I am ready to admit to the fullest extent the difficulty of defining the rights of belligerents and the duties of neutrals, and I fully recognise that the present feeling of the German nation is, under the circumstances, not unnatural. I could not deny it, considering the feelings which we ourselves entertained in times of great excitement; but I do not for a moment doubt that Germany will at a calmer season, readily admit that, even if it had been desirable, this country could not have been expected, without general consent, to have altered the hitherto received rules by which the duties of neutrals have been defined and regulated. Both belligerents entered on the war with a full knowledge of the rules of international law, and of what has been the almost uniform practice of neutrals; and each belligerent had consequently a right to expect that the existing rules and former practice would be maintained, and might with reason have complained if any change had been made. It must be remembered that obligations upon neutrals have become more strict with the progress of civilisation; but the present question is one which was not raised or discussed at the Congress of Paris of 1856; and the Royal Commission, composed of some of the most eminent jurists in this country, who inquired into the neutrality laws in 1867, decided that to prohibit the export of munitions of war was impracticable and impolitic.

Your Excellency, turning from generality to details, has made certain specific demands as to the course which Great Britain should pursue. I think it right, therefore, to lay before you some considerations with reference to these demands which may convince you of the difficulty, if not impracticability, of acceding to them. You demand that the export to France of arms, ammunition, coal, and other contraband of war should be prevented; and you observe that her Majesty's Government have declared that the law empowered the Executive to take this step. There is no doubt that the Executive has, under the Customs Consolidation Act of 1853, the legal power to prohibit the export of contraband of war; but the highest authority can be adduced to show that such exportation is not forbidden by our municipal law, and it has not been the practice to prohibit it except

when the interests of this country, as in the case of self defence, are directly and immediately concerned in the prohibition; and even in some of these cases, such as the Crimean War, considerable doubts arose during its continuance whether the prohibition, when actually attempted to be enforced, was as disadvantageous to the enemy as it was inconvenient to ourselves. Such, then, being the state of the case as regards existing practice, I would venture to ask your Excellency's serious attention to the following specimens of the difficulties which would, at the outset, have to be met in an attempt to alter existing practice. The export of arms and contraband of war may be open or clandestine. Her Majesty's Government, though they regret it, do not for a moment deny that there is at present a certain exportation of arms to France; but this exportation is open and undisguised. Since the dispatch of my note of the 9th inst., fuller Customs' returns have been received, from which it appears that in the week immediately following the declaration of war 11,000 rifles were shipped to France. None are known to have been shipped since, with the exception of the 4512 taken by the Fannie from Southampton on the 6th inst.; but it is possible that further purchases have been made by French agents, though from the reports received as to the number in the market and the state of the gun trade, it is certain that the purchases must have been very limited. But, whatever the amount, there has been no secrecy in the export, and the returns of every rifle shipped are as well known to your Excellency as to her Majesty's Government. Exportations, if prohibited, would be entirely clandestine; the nature of a cargo and the destination of a vessel would be equally concealed. It would be necessary to alter the present system of exportation under which (except in the port of London) cargoes, in order to ensure rapidity of shipment, are not examined by the Customs' authorities, who receive the account of them from the shippers generally after the ship has sailed. It would require the system under which all suspicious packages, no matter what their assumed destination, would be opened and examined. Finally, though it may certainly diminish the profits of certain merchants with whose proceedings her Majesty's Government, in common with your Excellency, have no sympathy, it would also cause infinite delay and obstruction to innocent trade.

Your Excellency would not interfere with the trade to neutral countries; but how would it be possible to avoid this? A ship carrying prohibited articles would invariably have a colourable neutral destination. How is this to be detected without interfering with the trade with neutrals, if even then? During the Crimean War Prussia had no such difficulty. There could be no doubt of the destination of goods arriving on the Russian frontier; and yet the Customs' authorities were practically powerless. But course where she pleases. Your Excellency has suggested the exaction of a bond from shippers, but such a measure would be most onerous to the mercantile community, and would be easily evaded, and at the best would be no security against ultimate destination. It would be necessary, too, to take these bonds not only from foreign bound ships but from coasting vessels, which are at present subject to little or no Customs' supervision; for what could hinder a coasting vessel from crossing the Channel and delivering her cargo at a French port?

Again, your Excellency includes coal among the articles to be prohibited, on the ground that coal is more useful to France than to Germany during the present war. This raises the question of the prohibition of all articles, not contraband of war, which might be of service to a belligerent. But, if this principle were admitted, where is it to stop? In the American war no exports would have been more useful to the Southern States than cloth, leather, and quinine. It would be difficult for a neutral, and obviously inadmissible for a belligerent, to draw the line. It must be remembered, too, that the features of the war may change. Articles invaluable to a belligerent at one period may be valueless at another, and vice versa. Is the neutral to watch the shifting phases and vary his restrictions in accordance with them? Again, art. 11 of the Treaty of Commerce between this country and France expressly provides that the contracting parties shall not prohibit the exportation of coal. Can this solemn treaty stipulation be lightly disregarded as long as we remain neutral?

I have pointed out these difficulties to your Excellency, as the consideration of them may tend to efface the impression that Great Britain has hastily or inconsiderately, or upon grounds of a narrow selfishness, refused to accede to your demands; and I need hardly assure you that at the outbreak of hostilities her Majesty's Government were actuated in the course adopted by them by no feeling of hostility towards a nation with which Great Britain has always been on terms of intimate friendship, and by no unworthy motive of retaliation for past conduct, but by the honest desire to maintain a strict and impartial neutrality, in accordance with precedent and in conformity with the law of nations. I trust that I have shown that our conduct has been of the nature indicated. I have pointed out the difficulties standing in the way of the alteration of the existing practice. I have alluded to the difficulties which the Prussian Government encountered when placed in a position analogous to that now occupied by Great Britain, and I have shown that these difficulties were chiefly owing to their having so far departed from existing practice as to prohibit the transit trade—a concession which gave Great Britain a standing ground of complaint which she would not otherwise have possessed, and which, notwithstanding, was powerless in its results. I have also fully recognised that the sensitiveness of the Prussian people and the complaints of the Government are natural.

Her Majesty's Government fear that no means could be devised for securing at this moment a calm discussion of the subject. They by no means desire to claim exceptional rights for this country. They would be prepared to enter into consultation with other nations as to the possibility of adopting in common a stricter rule, although their expectations of a practical result in the sense indicated by the North German Government are not sanguine. We took the course which appeared to be according to the dictates of practice and precedent at a time when it was impossible to know how the fortune of war would turn. Since then France, notwithstanding the display of her usual courage and gallantry, has met with nothing but reverses, Germany has, on the other hand, given extraordinary proofs of her military ability and power, accompanied, as it has been, by continuous success. Your Excellency, as the representative of a great and chivalrous nation, must agree with me that it would not be possible that we should change the policy which we declared to our Parliament to be usual, just, and expedient because it was stated by the victorious belligerent to be in some degree favourable to the defeated enemy.—I am, &c.,

GRANVILLE.

HAMPSTEAD-HEATH.—There is still hope that an amicable arrangement, by which Hampstead-Heath will be secured to the public, may be brought about. At a meeting of the Hampstead Vestry the other day, Mr. Le Breton, the chairman, and representative at the Metropolitan Board of Works, stated that the negotiations with the lord of the manor for the sale of his rights to that board had been actively going on up to the decease of Sir J. Thwaites. He added that there was a very good prospect of 240 acres—the main portion—of the heath being saved.

THE KING OF PRUSSIA'S LETTER TO NAPOLEON III.—The following is the reply of the King of Prussia to the letter of the Emperor Napoleon, in which he resigned his sword:—"Monsieur my Brother,—Whilst regretting the circumstances under which we meet, I accept your Majesty's sword, and I beg of your Majesty to appoint one of your officers invested with full powers to treat for the capitulation of the army which has so bravely fought under your orders. On my side, I appoint General Moltke for this purpose.—I am your Majesty's good brother, WILLIAM.—Before Sedan, Sept. 1, 1870."

THE EXPORTATION OF ARMS.—Mr. J. D. Goodman, chairman of the Birmingham Small-Arms Company, writes thus on the above subject:—"Exaggerated statements respecting the exportation of arms to France have obtained currency during the last few days. As many as 40,000 are said to be in the hands of exporters in London, Birmingham, and Sheffield; the last being a place which has no means for producing a single rifle. I am induced, therefore, to ask you to afford me the opportunity of putting the real facts before your readers. At the outbreak of the war the number of breech-loading arms in the hands of English manufacturers did not exceed 20,000. This number has not up to this time been increased by more than a few hundreds. About 14,000 of these arms were in the hands of two manufacturing firms, one of them our own. These have been sold to buyers in this country, and I have no doubt the whole of them have found their way to France. The sale of these arms left about 4000 to 6000 in the hands of the various manufacturers in Birmingham and London. It is probable that from 1000 to 2000 of these have already been shipped, leaving the number on hand, which could be prepared for immediate delivery, comparatively small. I was, until to-day, under the full belief that all the recent purchases were for France; but I have now ascertained that, on the 14th inst., 2520 rifles were shipped by the Midland to Rotterdam. If these were for either belligerent, it will be at once seen they were not for the French. In addition to the arms I have mentioned, there were lying in London a lot of 11,000 chassecrocs. They were made, I believe, in Birmingham, three years ago, for Japan; but as the market at that time was over-stocked, they were not shipped. These were sent to France, on July 18, by the Blanche, from London. As to orders for the future, the public can judge of their extent when I mention the conditions which up to this time have been rigidly exacted in every transaction. The seller has required that Bank of England notes shall be in his hands before the guns leave his premises; the buyer, on the other hand, has stipulated that every gun for which payment is made shall be packed and ready for dispatch within twenty-four hours of the bargain being struck. Anyone must see that under existing circumstances no other conditions could be acceptable to either side. Of Martini, Bede-guns, and Remingtons there are no supplies in England. When I say none, I speak, of course, of quantities available for military service. The two small-arms companies of Birmingham and London are engaged in making supplies of arms for our own Government, and neither of them has now any order from the French Government or from anyone on their behalf, either directly or indirectly."

PROFESSOR HUXLEY.

THOMAS HENRY HUXLEY, F.R.S., V.P.L.S., President for this year of the British Association, and Professor of Natural History in the Government School of Mines, Jermyn-street, London, is a son of the late George Huxley, Esq., and was born at Ealing Middlesex, in 1825. He was educated at Ealing School, and subsequently studied medicine at the Medical School of Charing-cross Hospital. He was appointed Assistant Surgeon to H.M.S. Rattlesnake in the year 1846, and remained with that vessel during the surveying cruise in the South Pacific and Torres Strait. He returned to England in 1850, and succeeded Edward Forbes at the School of Mines in 1854. He is well known as a writer on natural science, being the author of numerous papers published in the *Transactions* and *Journals* of the Royal Linnean, Geological, and Zoological Societies, and in the "Memoirs of the Geological Survey of Great Britain;" and of a separate work, "The Oceanic Hydrogoid."

In his address at the opening of the 1870 session of the British Association, at Liverpool, last week, Professor Huxley confined himself principally to biology, and said much as to what science can reveal about the origin of animal life. He spoke of one hypothesis, that "living matter always arises by the agency of pre-existing living matter," and this he called "the hypothesis of Biogenesis;" the contrary opinion, that "living matter may be produced by not-living matter," he called "Abiogenesis." He then narrated how certain watery infusions, if left exposed to the air, will in a few days swarm with animal life; but if the air be filtered through cotton-wool, and not freely admitted, no such life will appear. After describing and criticising many such experiments as these, he concluded that the evidence in favour of "Biogenesis" for all known forms of life was of very great weight. He further said:—"And, looking back through the prodigious vista of the past, I find no record of the commencement of life, and therefore I am devoid of any means of forming a definite conclusion as to the conditions of its appearance. Belief, in the scientific sense of the word, is a serious matter, and needs strong foundations. To say therefore, in the admitted absence of evidence, that I have any belief as to the mode in which the existing forms of life have originated would be using words in a wrong sense. But expectation is permissible where belief is not; and if it were given me to look beyond the abyss of geologically recorded time to the still more remote period when the earth was passing through physical and chemical conditions, which it can no more see again than a man can recall his infancy, I should expect to be a witness of the evolution of living protoplasm from not-living matter. I should expect to see it appear under forms of great simplicity, endowed, like existing fungi, with the power of determining the formation of new protoplasm from such matters as ammonium, carbonates, oxalates, and tartrates, alkaline and earthy phosphates, and water, without the aid of light. That is the expectation to which analogical reasoning leads me; but I beg you once more to recollect that I have

no right to call my opinion anything but an act of philosophical faith."

The Professor's train of thought gradually led him on to the subject of epidemic and epizootic diseases, and to the devastating, cholera-like "pebrine," which commits such deadly ravages among the silkworms; and he closed his address by saying:—"I commenced this address by asking you to follow me in an attempt to trace the path which has been followed by a scientific idea, in its long and slow progress from the position of a probable hypothesis to that of an established law of nature. Our survey has not taken us into very attractive regions; it has lain chiefly in a land flowing with the abominable, and peopled with mere grubs and mouldiness. And it may be imagined with what

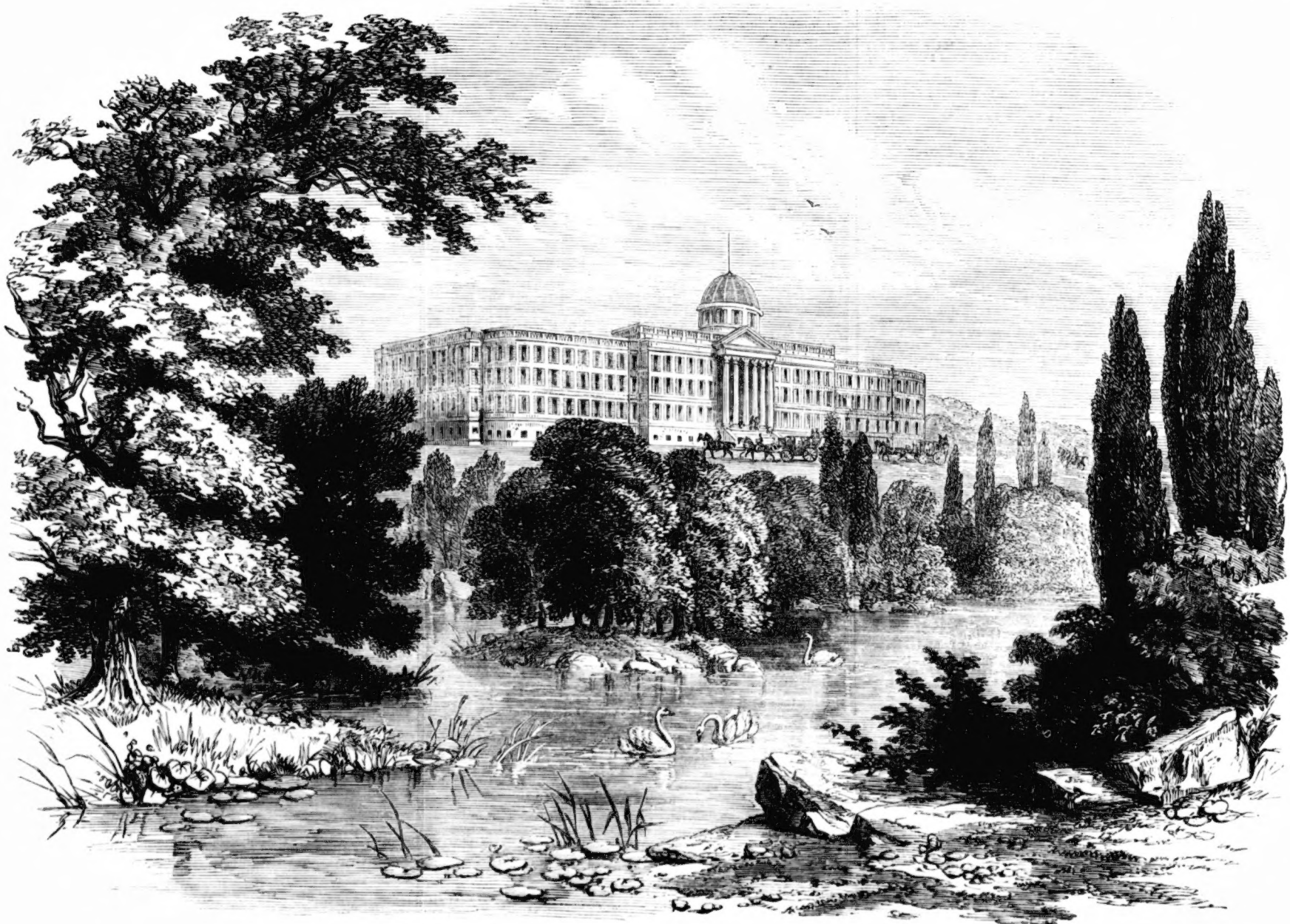
which deals with those phenomena of nature which we call physical. May its endeavours be crowned with a full measure of success!"

WILHELMSHÖHE.

"I have given him Wilhelmsöhe," says the King of Prussia, in that telegraphic despatch to the Queen, his wife, which briefly depicts a great scene in the drama of history. "Where and what manner of place is Wilhelmsöhe?" many readers will ask. It is the Versailles of Cassel. It is a chateau and pleasure-park on the east slope of the Habichtswald mountains; and it has for the captive Emperor associations of peculiar interest, inasmuch



PROFESSOR HUXLEY, PRESIDENT OF THE BRITISH ASSOCIATION.
(FROM A PHOTOGRAPH BY ELLIOTT AND FRY.)



WILHELMSHÖHE, THE RESIDENCE OF THE EX-EMPEROR NAPOLEON.

SEPT 21. 1870

as it was once the favourite residence of his uncle, Jérôme, sometime King of Westphalia. This palatial retreat and its surroundings are in the luxurious taste of the last century. There are hothouses on an amazing plan; there are temples of Apollo and Mercury; there are waterfalls, pheasantries, lakes, and a Chinese village. There is a great fountain, perhaps the greatest in the world; for its column of water, rising to a height of 180 ft., is 12 ft. in thickness. And lastly, at the farthest and highest point of the grounds, nearly 1400 ft. above the Fulda, there is a strange, if not preposterous, building of octagonal shape, with a series of cascades descending from its foot, through five basins, to a "grotto of Neptune." The building at the top of the cascade is named the Kellerschloss, from a colossal statue which is an immensely enlarged copy of the Farnese Hercules, the club

having a cavity in which nine people can sit. Such is Wilhelmshöhe, whose precincts are reached from Cassel by a straight avenue of lime-trees.

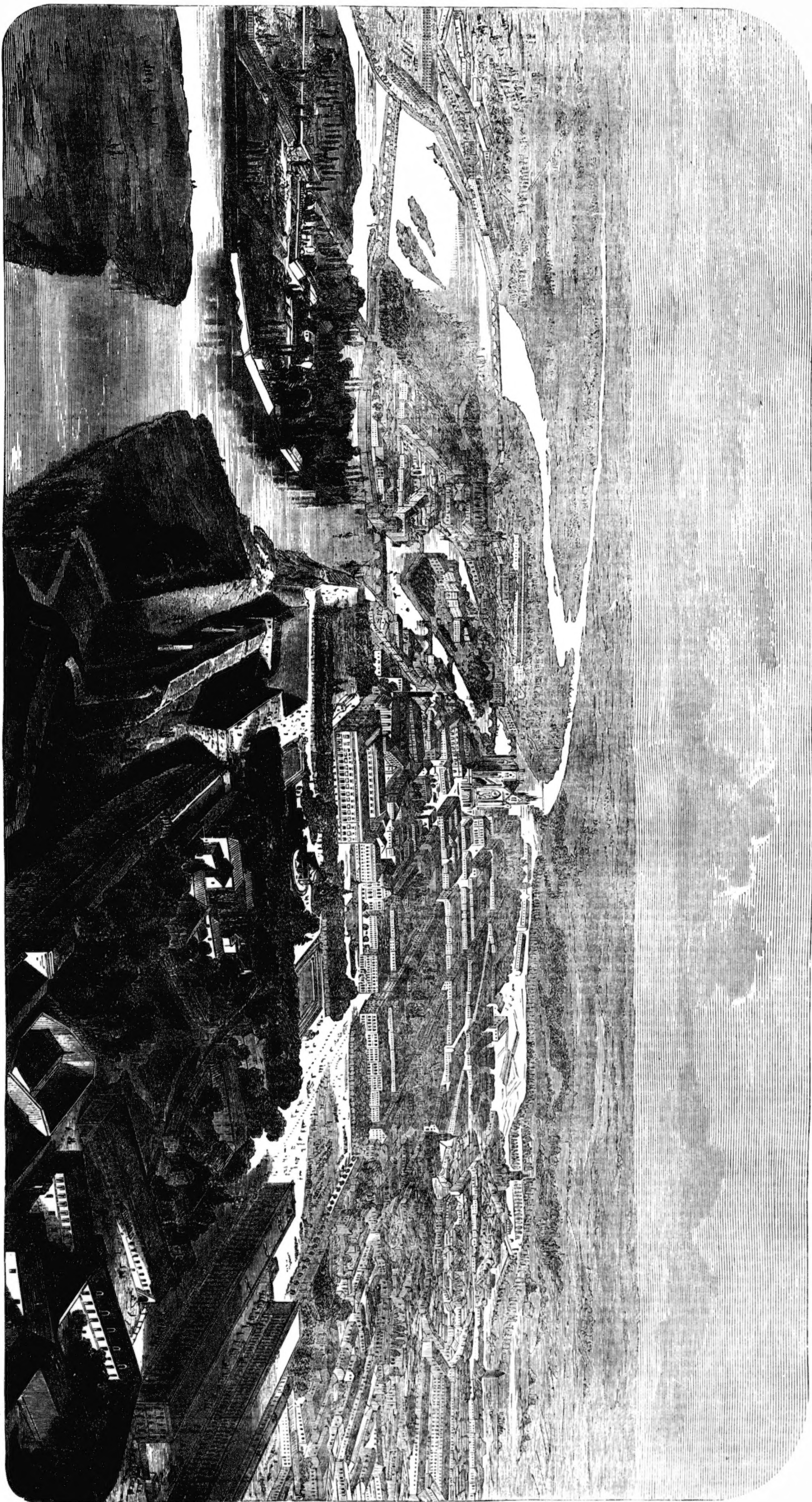
Inside the palace there are many memorial signs of the past. In the billiard-room stands the identical billiard-table of the Emperor's Royal uncle, as also the cues, with the initials "J. N." engraved upon them. Leaving the ante-room, where the rules of the game, printed in French, are still hanging, he may enter the front vestibule, and, looking down on the lovely valley before him, his eyes may chance to rest upon an inscription on the glass panel cut with a diamond ring by some attendant of King Jérôme, "Vive le Roi!" with the retort underneath, "Le Roi est disparu, vive l'Electeur!"

Herr Paul Linde, an eye-witness of Napoleon's arrival at Wil-

GENERAL VIEW OF METZ.

helmshöhe, describes his personal appearance in an account from which we extract the following:—"I drove along in my carriage so close to that which took Napoleon and his two aides-de-camp to Wilhelmshöhe that, had I desired it, I could have heard every word that was spoken; but not one sentence broke the stillness of the sad group. I have seen the Emperor hundreds of times in Paris. I was in the Opera, and watched him closely on the evening of Orsini's attempt on his life. Every line of his features is as familiar to me as those of my nearest friend; yet I declare, with the greatest sincerity, that when he arrived here I did not recognise him. Could it be possible that the old shrunken man, who raised his kepi to acknowledge the salutations that greeted him, was the same man who, as the Emperor of the French, has responded to the 'Vive l'Empereur' of the Parisians. I am not sentimental, and

my nerves are of normal strength; but the shock that the contrast presented sent a shiver to my very heart. All are familiar with the mode in which Napoleon's hair was arranged—the crisp curl so carefully trained, and the historical moustache with its waxed ends, that gave to his countenance its distinguishing expression, all that trim, soldierly air was gone. A few straggling locks of grey hair were scattered in confusion over his forehead, and his untended moustache drooped heavily over his closed lips, betokening the despair that must have reigned in his mind. Napoleon's physiognomy is either no longer capable of expressing feeling—which I believe—or it is capable of hiding its every trace. He moved no muscle—not a line in his face was stirred as he responded to the military salute. As he turned from right to left no gleam of expression passed across his features. His eyes had lost every vestige of meaning;



and he gazed on all, yet evidently saw nothing. Such a full personification of total apathy I have never seen. It was not a living human face I beheld; it was a lifeless, vacant mask. I could not withdraw my gaze from him; I could not realise the possibility of the fact that the wreck before me was the man whose voice was, but a few weeks since, so potent throughout the world; that this—this—was the wise and mighty Emperor!"

The Emperor, we learn, is taking regular walks in the close vicinity of the palace. Only once last week he had a two hours' drive by a road leading through the neighbouring villages of Kirchdittmold and Harleshausen, returning by way of the Rasen-Allée, a road formerly kept for the exclusive use of the Elector, and connecting Wilhelmshöhe with the hunting castle Wilhelmsthal, five miles distant. The party consisted of nine, all of them being French. Rimbaud, mounted on horseback, riding in front and Comte Davilliers at the side of the carriage. The Emperor, with the rest, was seated on a char-à-banc, drawn by four horses. To amend his equipage, a few days ago a Royal carriage was sent over from Berlin, together with a team of six beautiful black horses.

M. J. Pietri, the private secretary of the ex-Emperor, has addressed a letter to the *Times*, in which he denies certain statements that have been made against his Majesty. First he denies that he diverted every year from the War Budget £2,000,000 to supply the extravagant expenditure of the Civil List. Second, he denies that the Emperor has invested £400,000 in Dutch railway shares; and affirms that he has not a centime invested in foreign funds. Third, he denies that he borrowed 2000 thalers from the Prussian staff at Sedan. "The Emperor," says M. Pietri, "doubtless treats such calumnies with contempt; but it behoves those who are attached to him not to allow them to appear without refutation."

AFFAIRS AT METZ.

As Metz and its defences have already been fully described in our columns, we shall best employ the space at our disposal this week in giving some information as to the state of affairs at that stronghold. A correspondent of the *Times*, writing on the 14th inst., says:—

"I have just returned from a visit to the Prussian trenches round Metz. For the first time since I had to do with this campaign I have seen French soldiers who are not dead, wounded, or prisoners. But virtually they are prisoners, though they have not surrendered. I started from a village in the vicinity of the furthest Prussian outpost, on the north-west side, accompanied by a Prussian cuirassier officer. We first passed through the village of Courcelles, which, on each side of the road, is laid out with rifle-pits, trenches, and barricades made out of the poplars that once used to mark out the great military road to Metz, but are now hewn down. Patrols of both cavalry and infantry were to be seen in all directions after passing through the village of Laquenexy, where Bazaine made his last fruitless effort, on Sept. 1, to escape. The houses on each side of the road, which are now occupied by soldiers, are well barricaded, and studded with loopholes. After passing through a wood we observed the French soldiers in the trenches below us. We then came to a château at Mercy-le-Haut, once a noble mansion, surrounded by its pleasure-grounds and park, beautifully laid out, now a mere gutted ruin, with its lawns and parterres a camping-ground of soldiery. It is the property of Vicomte du Coëtlosquet, and its destruction is entirely owing to the French. After being formally introduced to the officer in command of the outpost, we proceeded from landing to landing until we came to the roof of the château, which is now used as a look-out, and whence we got a magnificent view of the citadel of Metz, from which we were distant about two miles. On the heights opposite to us—on the sky line—we could distinctly see another Prussian army; and on a very prominent earthwork on the north side of the cathedral we could plainly observe three officers in uniform—Bazaine and his staff, for all we may know—surveying through a large telescope on a stand the mighty army that surrounded them. Metz itself lies very low, and the most prominent object of the whole town is its ancient cathedral, which towers nobly above every other building. As for the fortifications, they are, in my humble opinion, impregnable; it would be madness to attempt to storm them; they appear to command every position; and I have learnt to-day from 'good authority' that the King has given orders, if possible, to avoid further bloodshed, and to 'bide his time,' which signifies starvation. Several deserters who have come across to this Prussian outpost informed the officer that the people are now subsisting on the cavalry horses. The officer confirmed this by stating that he had actually seen them kill the horses, numbers of which we observed grazing on the glacis. The entire French army, which some time ago amounted to 80,000 men, seems to be encamped principally under the fortresses and round some villages opposite this Prussian outpost—Grègy and Lagrange-au-Bois. After scanning the whole position and observing most minutely every movement of the French troops in their extensive prison, we descended the platform which has been raised by the Prussians on the roof of the château as their point of observation, after which we inspected the ruin. The officer in command, knowing who I was, requested me to make the details public. On Aug. 14 last a detachment of Prussian dragoons occupied the château for one night; they found it deserted, but beautifully furnished. Three or four days after they returned and found the place barricaded outside with the trees cut down from the park, the boughs of which had been converted into huts; the shutters outside on the ground floor had earth thrown half way up from the foundation, and the walls were on all sides pierced for loopholes. As we came round to the front door we observed what once was the family piano, billiard-table, and other articles of furniture, now broken up and used for exterior barricades. But the interior was the saddest part of all. In the hall familiar pictures of English racehorses met your eye—Flying Dutchman, Macaroni, &c. Then, on entering the public rooms, first of all the drawing-room, the entire floor was scattered with beautiful ornaments, albums, musical pieces, &c. The library with all its books lying about; among the collection some well-known English publications, and a great many copies of Rochefort's *Lanterne*, &c. After leaving this lamentable sight we passed through the wreck of a garden, with shattered vine-houses, where we were met by the Prussian outposts, and went into the trenches, finding ourselves within 500 yards of the French vedettes, sitting on the top of their trenches. There were also several mitrailleuses and small field-guns arranged along the top. In the early part of the day shots were exchanged between the infantry patrols, but there was no loss of life. We then went and saw the men's bivouac in the rear of the château, and I soon discovered who had appropriated the arm-chairs, sofas, &c., out of the house. The men seemed exceedingly happy and lively, and were only too eager for the chance of another fight. The outposts are relieved every third day, and, in case of an attack, they will not attempt to hold this position, but will retire on the next outpost, which lies about a mile in rear. General Wimpffen was sent by the Prussians into Metz a few days ago to inform Bazaine of the defeat of the French army, the capture of both M'Mahon and the Emperor, and to ask him whether he would not now surrender. His reply was that the Emperor was not his master, that he was master in Metz, and that he would surrender to no man. It is also rumoured that Bazaine had had an interview with Prince Frederick Charles in person; that he requested the Prince to allow him to capitulate with his hands playing, colours flying, and the men under arms. The Prince's answer was that he had no objection to the bands playing, but as to the arms he would not listen to it. Bazaine, it is believed, has sent one of his Generals to the King of Prussia, with the view of making conditions. The Prussians are making a most interesting line of railway between Remilly and Pont-à-Mousson, which will open their line of communication between the army before Paris and any part of Germany. The line will pass through Nancy and Châlons, the latter place will be kept as a great dépôt. The

Prussian engineer officer who is superintending the work informed me they have had the materials lying by at Coblenz for several years back. French prisoners still keep passing near here in thousands. On the 13th four officers requested of the commandant to give them protection, as they said they did not feel themselves safe with their men. After giving their parole not to serve against Prussia during the present war, they were left free to go whither they choose. I believe that nearly all of them go to either Germany or Belgium, as they say if they were to return to Paris the people would force them to take up arms, and they would consequently break their parole. I am sorry to say that rinderpest is killing numbers of the Prussian cattle; but, on the whole, the Prussians are exceedingly well off for food. The commissariat is excellently well arranged, and now with this new line of railway it will be perfect, every *wage* employed has its number marked on the waggon, and the corresponding number on the driver's cap."

The troops before Metz are now distributed in three commands, the seventeenth division (Mecklenburg and Hans Town troops), which arrived last of the regular forces in France, forming, with the Brandenburg division of landwehr, a distinct body under the Grand Duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin. This Sovereign, by-the-by, is the identical ruler who still has, in theory at least, the constitutional right of administering the stick to a refractory subject, and the mention of whose supposed claim to exercise that right was, not many years since, the unfailing means of rousing the passions of the Democrats of northern Germany, who are now serving patiently under him.

Bazaine has left no means untried of supplying that want of carrier pigeons or other sure messengers which has been so severely felt in his army. For some time it is well known he received and sent messages by the simple means of bottles floated down the Moselle. This device was found out, and counteracted by nets. Another means has since been tried, but, apparently, without the success which the ingenuity of the besieged deserved; for a small air balloon apparatus, carrying despatches from Metz, has descended at Oberwittstadt, a village in the north of Wurtemberg. The contents of the letters thus conveyed have not been made known, as they were at once transmitted to Stuttgart and thence to the Prussian staff. An official telegram from Neufchâtel reports the finding of a second balloon, dated Metz, Sept. 16. The balloon contained 5000 letters, which state that the besieged had plenty of provisions since the battle of Gravelotte; that Marshal Bazaine had been victorious in the battles of August, and that there was no doubt he would cut his way through when the proper time arrived. The assertion as to the abundance of provisions is so often repeated in the same letters, that one has a suspicion that the writers betray their anxiety to impose on the world by protesting over-much.

MR. LOWE ON THE WAR.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer was entertained at a public banquet, in Elgin, on the 16th inst., and presented with the freedom of the town. In his speech on the occasion Mr. Lowe referred to the waste of time in conducting Parliamentary business, and made a feeling allusion to the loss of H.M.S. Captain. He then proceeded as follows:—

I pass from this melancholy topic to one not less melancholy—to one which is in the thoughts of all of us, the terrible drama now being played out on the continent of Europe. You will not expect me, in the situation I hold, to give you any opinion as to the merits of that, or to the prospects of the different competitors, or to enter into any criticism whatever. What I might say in my personal character, coming from me as a member of the Government, might be the means of giving offence. But there are one or two observations which I may reasonably beg to submit to your fair and candid consideration. The Government has been subjected to repeated attacks in all quarters for the policy they have observed in regard to the great struggle now going on on the continent of Europe. We have been taunted with every possible fault a Government can commit; and, in fact, you might well suppose that no class of men could be more incompetent for sheer duty than we have been, if you were to listen to what has been circulated about us on the Continent and by some of our own press; and the whole essence of the charge made against us is in substance that we have not interfered. Now, I wish to draw your attention a little to this subject. We are neutrals in this war, but we are not only neutrals in the technical sense of the word. We are not only non-belligerents, but we are neutrals in the right sense of the word—inasmuch as we are really impartial, we are well-wishers. I am speaking of the government of both sides. We are most anxious that this great calamity should be averted, and we are most anxious now that both sides should come out of it with as little injury and damage as can possibly be. Therefore, our profession of neutrality is not merely a technical term of law, but it is a real expression of the feelings and views with which we regard the struggle; and that it is so may be surmised from the fact that we have been heartily abused by both sides. That being a point very much settled, the question is, what should have been proposed, I suppose; because among the most unmeaning of phrases in general there are three kinds of interposition: the first is arbitration; another, is intervention; and the third, mediation; and they jumble these things up in a manner that must be my excuse if I endeavour to define these three terms strictly, and to show exactly what meaning I attach to them. And, first, arbitration means when a person takes upon himself to judge between two competitors, at their request; and, as no request has been made to us by the two competitors, arbitration is totally out of the question, and I may dismiss it. Intervention by a neutral means that the neutral casts aside the character of neutrality and goes in for one side or the other. Now, we have not the slightest, and I am sure that you do not wish us to have any, intention of doing so. The quarrel was none of our raising; on the contrary, we have done everything we could to prevent it, and we are not going, if any power can keep us out of it, to be drawn into it. I see no reason whatever, and I speak with the greatest confidence—I think so, at least—to apprehend that we shall be drawn into it. The third class of interposition is that of mediation; and mediation, I take it, means not that you exactly wait to be asked, but that you give good advice and counsel, and persuade and entreat people to be reasonable, to listen to good advice, and to abstain from hostilities. Now, gentlemen, that also requires consideration. As long as the sword has not been drawn, while the matter is still in the stage of quarrel and discussion, and has not reached the point of hostilities, nothing can be more becoming a great Power like England than even to be lavish in mediation at the risk of receiving, as we have received, some mortifying repulses. She cannot go too far in exhausting all the resources which are at her command in order to bring the two parties together and prevent the effusion of blood. She can do this because the question then at issue is a question of the rights of parties, of which every man is a poor judge for himself, but which just and wise men are always ready to leave to the adjustment of other people if they are sincere in the belief that they are right. In that kind of mediation we have not been in any way wanting. We exhausted all the resources of diplomacy in endeavouring to prevent a collision between France and Prussia, and we exhausted them in vain. But when you come to speak of mediation after the sword has been drawn, you get at a totally different set of considerations. It is no longer a question of the rights of parties, but a question of relative power. The sword is an evil mediator, but it does its work decisively and authoritatively; and if, after the parties have called the sword in aid of their own affairs, and dislike their discussion by other people, we were to begin to mediate, then we should be wearing our neutrality exceedingly thin, and be almost casting it aside altogether. So long as it is a question of right we may claim to be heard; but when two nations have been conflicting with each other for some time they know much better than anybody else can know what their own strength is, and what the strength of their antagonist is, and they know also what they require for security, and what they think it their interest to claim. And if that be the case, and the third nation tries to interpose between them, whatever advice it gives it must be taking part with the one party or the other, and thus would not bear the part of neutral. For instance, were we to go to Prussia and advise her to be content with less terms than she demands, we actually should be taking the part of France against Prussia, and would be no longer a neutral, and would be throwing our moral weight in the scale of France against Prussia. If, on the other hand, we were to go to France and advise her to take terms which she did not consider consistent with her dignity, we should be playing the game of Prussia and taking part against France. This is exactly what, in my judgment, we ought to avoid, in the supposition with which I started, that we are bound to be an actual, a fair, and an absolute neutral. There is another reason why, in my judgment, we ought at the present time to abstain from interference and from mediation, and that is this—it is impossible to do so without leaving a lasting wound behind. For instance, supposing we were to recommend Prussia to do something less than she believes necessary for her to do, it would always rankle in the mind of Prussia that she felt herself compelled to listen to our advice; it would always rankle in the mind of Prussian statesmen that we had spoiled her game in the moment of success, and it would be a standing grievance against us for ever. If, on the other hand, we were to advise France to take

terms from Prussia, supposing she demands a cession of territory, would it be wise in our statesmen to associate England with what France regards as miserable and humiliating to submit to, and she would at once say that England had a hand in the matter—that she put pressure upon France to compel her to submit to that which she ought not to have done. Therefore, gentlemen, I think I have shown you, though, I am afraid, rather dryly and tediously, still I think I have shown you, that the only policy, if we really mean what we say—if we really mean to keep England out of the conflict—is that of forbearing from what I would call officious intervention between the parties. If one party's pride is at stake, and we could in any way facilitate overtures they might find difficulty in making; if we could in any way smooth the way by making ourselves the bearers of conciliation or peace; if we could give any decision, if both parties wished for our decision—anything of that kind it would be our duty and pleasure to do, and I am sure the people of England would think that we should only be doing our duty; but beyond that we ought not, in my judgment, to go. We ought not to abandon the neutral character we have assumed. These two great nations have taken upon themselves this tremendous struggle; they have appealed from right to force; force must decide between them, and by force they must be guided, at least so far as England is concerned, who, having done all she could to prevent this war, ought not to take upon herself any of the burden or miseries that may follow. And now gentlemen, I will venture to take a little more cheerful view of the subject, and point out one or two matters in which I think we may see that this war has been of service to us—there is nothing so evil but that good can be extracted from it. One lesson to be gained, which I think comes home to the heart of every Scotchman, is the enormous advance of popular education. I will not go into this subject, it would be invasions at this time if I were to do so; but only see what Prussia has really done! I do not speak now of her military achievements, but look at the intelligence, the organisation, the docility; look, for instance, at the careful way in which the service of scouting, of ascertaining the presence of the enemy, is performed; look at the extraordinary knowledge which has been obtained of the movement of the enemy, such as has never been done in any war before; look at the forecast, look at the diligence which has been displayed. It is said that education tends to make people soft and effeminate, and less fit for the rough business of war; but see how these men have been stricken down by regiments, by the most terrible instruments of war, without flinching or going back an inch. So far Prussia has succeeded, I think, in showing the value of a system of popular education. The same thing applies to the superior ranks, officers, and generals, of the Prussian army. Therefore this is so far satisfactory, because it shows it is not true, as has often been said, that war is a trade in which those shine most who are the most brutalised and the least cultivated men. It appears to me, when civilised men do take up this dreadful business from adequate motives, they can conduct it as well, if not better, than the fiercest savages. There is another lesson or consequence still more agreeable. What we have been witnessing is the destruction of a most gallant standing army by what is not a standing army, but an armed nation, and that not altogether by the superior qualities of the men, but by the enormous preponderance of numbers, which the fact of their being an armed nation has given them. I think I hear in that the knell of standing armies. Many of the large standing armies of the Continent, if they cannot protect the nation against the war with such a country as Prussia, whose troops have to be called from the counter, the loom, and the plough, of what use are they? It seems to me that any nation who wishes to be protected against invasion and against destruction must not only rely on a standing army, if for no other reason than because its numbers are necessarily limited, but it must put arms in the hands of the people, and trust to them, as Prussia trusts, for the defence of their own land. If that be so, see the blessed results which will follow from it. One is freedom. A nation which is armed, and on whose answer to the call depends the safety of the country, must necessarily be a nation of free men; they will be armed, and their Sovereigns must govern in accordance with their wishes, or they will not get their support when they get involved in difficulty. It seems to me that this is a return to the sort of rude liberty enjoyed in the Middle Ages; and when the King was kept in order by the fact that all the subjects had arms in their hands, and would not suffer themselves to be oppressed beyond a certain limit. Then there is another good effect, and that is, that such organisation is mainly useful for defensive wars. Had not the heart of the Prussian nation been in this war it would have been vain to expect from it the extraordinary efforts it has made, and it would have been impossible for the people to assemble in so wonderfully short a time. If the people are to be consulted, the people will only fight when they see it to be their interest, and I think they will only see it to be for their interest when it is for the sacred idea of protecting their common country. Whatever may be the end of this contest, it must be evident to all that Prussia entered upon it with no desire to acquire territory, but merely to defend herself from invasion. These things seem full of promise for the future; they seem to promise more enlarged freedom in the future than exists at present; they seem to hold out fair promise, if not for universal peace, at least for the prevention of such wars as this we are now witnessing. If Kings must rest upon their people, if they must depend upon them, and not upon hired soldiers, they must govern according to the will of their people. If that be so, these things may compensate for a great deal of the bloodshed and horror we have seen. Now, gentlemen, I have to apologise for trespassing at so great length on your time, but I have endeavoured, to the best of my ability, to lay before you the present state of affairs. I think it ought to be satisfactory to you to learn that there is no reason to doubt that we entertain no apprehension of being drawn into this struggle; and, as far as we are concerned, no effort shall be wanting on our part to keep you clear of it. Now, gentlemen, I beg to return you my most sincere thanks for the patience with which you have heard me, and I thank the Corporation of Elgin very kindly for the honour they have conferred on me, and I trust that the rest of my career will not disgrace them in the choice they have made.

THE BUTCHERS OF PARIS, who imagined that they were going to make fortunes out of the state of siege, have been informed by a proclamation that they must sell meat at fixed prices, according to a tariff which is posted on all the dead walls. Beef is about one third dearer than mutton. The butchers are told that they must not charge for bones. How many householders in London would be thankful for a like boon.

THE BAPTIST UNION CONFERENCE was opened at Cambridge on Wednesday, the inaugural address being delivered by the Rev. W. Robinson, the chairman, who dwelt upon the disposition for unity now being manifested amongst Christians. A discussion took place upon the University Tests Bill, and a resolution was passed affirming that no settlement of the question will be complete which does not abolish the necessity of orders as a condition of office or emolument in the Universities. A memorial to the Government in this sense was adopted.

IRISH OPINION CONCERNING THE POPE.—There is a large party in Ireland, it seems, who would not be averse to inviting the Pope to seek a refuge in the "Land of Saints," in the event of his longer residence in the Eternal City becoming impolitic or impossible. Some have even speculated on Dublin being selected as the place of sojourn of the Pontiff, and have indicated the house of a nobleman which is about to be sold as a probable fitting home for his Holiness. Others, however, argue that the retirement of the Pontiff to Ireland would amount to at least a temporary abandonment of the position of the Catholic Church in Europe, and believe, on the other hand, that France will be the Pontifical asylum. The Republic is not expected to last, and it is hoped that it may be succeeded by a Government as friendly to the Church as Napoleon III. was. Some others consider that a reconciliation will ultimately be effected between the Pope and the King of Italy, despite the difficulties placed in the way by the doctrine of Infallibility.

NEW PEER.—The Queen has ordered a writ to be issued summoning Lord Eliot to the House of Peers, by the title of Baron Eliot, of St. Germans, in the county of Cornwall. The Barony dates from 1784. The new peer, William Gordon Cornwallis, Lord Eliot, is the eldest son of the Earl of St. Germans, by the third daughter of the second Marquis of Cornwallis. He was born at Port Eliot, Cornwall, in 1829, and was educated at Eton. In 1853 he was appointed second paid Attaché to the Embassy at Berlin, having previously served the Foreign Office at Madrid and at Lisbon. Subsequently his Lordship was Attaché at St. Petersburg. He has also been Secretary of Legation at Rio Janeiro and at Athens. In May, 1866, in conjunction with Mr. Montagu Chambers, he was returned for Davenport as a Liberal, the present Lord Colchester and Mr. H. C. Raikes, M.P. for Chester, having been the unsuccessful Conservative candidates. In November, 1868, however, Lord Eliot did not offer himself for re-election, being unable to support the disestablishment of the Irish Church. He is a prominent member of the High Church party.

THE GATLING MITRAILLEUSE.—On Wednesday two Gatling mitrailleuses were tried at Shoeburyness. The first, having a calibre of 1 in., and throwing a bullet weighing 8 oz., was fired at targets 36 ft. and 9 ft. high, at a distance of 2100 yards. Owing to a couple of cartridges placing themselves athwart the loading machinery, only 121 shots were delivered in two minutes, producing twelve hits. A smaller Gatling, calibre .65, throwing a 3 oz. ball, was fired; it dispatched 308 bullets, and produced forty-five hits. The larger Gatling was then pointed at three targets, each of the same size as the last, but placed in rows to represent a column of troops; 238 shots were fired, and about ninety hits were scored. The smaller Gatling fired at the Gatling 348 bullets in two minutes, making 165 hits at 2100 yards. These results are far beyond everything which our artillerymen had expected or even hoped from any mitrailleuse. Hitherto these engines had done fairly at short ranges, but the performance of Wednesday would have been excellent for the best field-pieces at the very far range of 2100 yards, or considerably over a mile. Until Wednesday the field-pieces met the mitrailleuses at the supposed favourite ranges of the latter; now the service-guns have been collared, if not beaten, at distances which had been claimed for them as peculiarly their own property.

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SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 24, 1870.

AFTER WAR.

Is one of the last sittings of our House of Commons Sir Henry Bulwer, in one of the wisest and shortest speeches of the Session, remarked that, whatever people had succeeded in inventing, they had not yet invented a new human nature. The observation was made with reference to the Franco-Prussian war, and the feelings which precipitated it; jealousy on one side, and perhaps a little disposition to administer a severe chastisement on the other. It was only putting in a new form the remark of a great living thinker; that man has carried the art of fighting to greater perfection than any other art, and that the drill and equipment of thousands of men for the purposes of mutual destruction is his least questionable achievement.

There is certainly something dreary about this lookout, but war is not what it was, and it has its good consequences. These, or some of these, we might reach by other paths; but in this world there is no unmixed good, and while we all strive for the best possible thing, we may well be permitted to find consolation where we can.

The spirit of humanity, which nowadays does so much to mitigate the after-horrors of the combat—little enough, but still comparatively much—is not, of course, a consequence of war. But, this spirit once abroad and active, there springs up into life among the wounded on both sides (supposing a fair degree of moral culture among them) a peculiarly vivid feeling of their fraternity as human beings, which cannot be without hopeful consequences in the future. The combat dissipates a thousand illusions. Men discover that bravery and skill and compassion are of no nation, and they learn to revise their estimates of themselves and of others. There is much in that fine couplet of Mr. Gerald Massey's:—

We learn by the grip of our hands in hate
What the strength of our love may be;

and, if some wars leave legacies of hatred for future generations, it is yet true that brave men like each other better after a set-to. Nor have we any doubt that the present war will have for one of its earliest consequences—end as it may—a much greater and more rapid infiltration of German ideas into the mind of France generally, and a general increase of intercourse between the two peoples.

It appears also to be true that, under the conditions of modern civilisation, a great intellectual awakening follows everywhere upon the heels of war waged on any considerable scale for "ideas." It is established that after a war the birth-rate usually rises in the countries which have been engaged in it; and it seems only natural that the stirring-up which it gives to the national mind and heart should not, at all events, have results of unmixed evil. It cannot be denied that war brings into action some of the noblest qualities of human nature. In spite of all our talk about the superiority of moral to physical courage, it is no trifle, from a moral point of view, to be able to fight as M'Mahon and De Wimpffen fought at Sedan. Calmness in face of danger, self-reliance, and facility of action in concert, are fine things too, and they are nowhere to be so well learnt (in our present imperfect state) as on the field of battle. In our own country, right out of the field of action as we are, there are evident signs of an increase of intellectual and moral activity to follow upon all this excitement, and eager sympathy with one side or the other. The Press, the Pulpit, the Senate, the Tribune—in all these there has been an infusion of fresh life. Some of its first movements have been rather foolish—but, patience! The pulpit has come out particularly well; and some of the "collections" for the wounded—especially in dissenting places of worship, honour to whom honour!—have been enormous. The speech of Mr. Lowe at Elgin—one of the most masterly orations that ever fell from the lips of a statesman—was worth paying something for; and what has fallen from the pens of Dr. Strauss, Professor Max Müller, and even Victor Hugo, with all his inconsequence, are signs—very imperfect signs—of the activity which has been excited in minds of the first class by the war. Of this, however, we shall see very much more within a few years.

There is one grand lesson—a hard one it is, but a great—which a nation learns from being engaged in a war, or even from witnessing one: namely, how much it can bear, and yet live as a nation, and rise elastic from its sufferings after a time. England has paid the price of this lesson before now; our brothers on the Continent are learning it in the same dear school of experience. Happy shall we all be when that school breaks up for a long, long holiday; but when it does so, it will be true, quite apart from all great political considerations (in respect of which the gain to Europe and the world will be enormous, incalculable), that we shall all have got some good out of the war.

THE PARIS GAS COMPANY have announced that, in view of the danger of explosion likely to result from the bombardment, they will not continue their supply beyond a few days.

SAYINGS AND DOINGS.

THE RUSSIAN Czar, on receiving the news of the battle of Sedan, at Moscow, on Sept. 3, gave a dinner, when, having drunk to the health of his Royal uncle of Prussia, he broke the glass, according to German custom, which precribes that none shall drink again from a glass which has been used for very solemn toasts.

THE EMPEROR OF BRAZIL is expected to visit Europe at the end of the war. He will make a long stay in Vienna.

MARSHAL M'MAHON, accompanied by General de Chazal, is stated to have arrived at Bouillon.

M. THIERS, who arrived in Tours on the 19th, started the next morning for Vienna and St. Petersburg.

COUNT PALIKAO has hired a furnished residence at Namur for three months.

THE RIGHT HON. W. E. GLADSTONE arrived in town on Tuesday evening from Hawarden Castle. The Lord Chancellor will relieve the Right Hon. G. J. Goschen in attendance on her Majesty towards the close of the ensuing week.

MR. BRIGIT, who still resides at Llandudno, is steadily gaining physical strength; and, what in his case is still more important, is now able to bestow some attention on matters that give tone and vigour to his mind. Even in the late rough weather the right hon. gentleman took his daily ride on horseback; and this wholesome exercise, joined to the long abstinence from intellectual strain, has almost restored him to his wonted strength and energy, both of mind and body.

LADY COWLEY arrived at Wiltshire, on a mission from the Empress, in the forenoon of last Saturday, and, after a long interview with the Emperor Napoleon, returned to England in the evening.

MR. C. WYKHAM MARTIN, M.P., it is rumoured, is about to retire from the representation of Newport, Isle of Wight.

SIR TITUS SALT, of Saltair, was presented, last Saturday, with a testimonial consisting of pieces of plate, subscribed for by the children of the village connected with his factory.

MR. EDMOND BEALES has been appointed to the office of Judge of the Cambridge County Court.

THE GREAT BELGIAN NATIONAL RIFLE-MATCH is to commence on Sept. 24 and to terminate on Oct. 3.

THE FRENCH BLOCKADE in the North Sea has been raised.

A MONUMENT TO DANIEL DEFOE, which has been erected in Bunhill-fields Burying ground, was unveiled on the 16th inst., after a speech by Mr. C. Reed, M.P., who paid a high tribute to the genius of this distinguished author.

SIGNOR L. FRAPOLLI, Grand Master of the Italian Freemasons, has sent a letter to the Italian lodges, in which he says that orders have been given for the removal of the Grand Orient from Florence to Rome, "the definitive capital of the nation."

PRAYERS for the personal safety of the Pope and for his triumph over his enemies were offered up on Sunday in all the Roman Catholic chapels of Dublin.

MR. J. CROFTS, a Leeds magistrate, has been fined £15 for having a horse, carriage, and three men servants in excess of his license.

CHOLERA is raging through Persia, and is bad in the south of Russia. In St. Petersburg there were a hundred cases last week and forty-three deaths, but it is not regarded at present as epidemic.

THE CHATTERLEY IRON COMPANY'S WORKS near Tunstall, in Staffordshire, was the scene of a boiler explosion last Saturday, by which two lives were lost and six persons severely injured.

M. JULES FAVRE, in acknowledging a vote of sympathy from the advanced Liberals of Greenwich, writes:—"Thanks for your noble and brotherly sympathies. They console us in our misfortunes; they encourage our hopes, and strengthen the national amity which ought to unite two great nations. We desire only peace; but, if we are compelled to buy it by the sacrifice of our honour, we will fight to the last drop of our blood, certain of having with us all true-hearted men."

THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE RUSSIAN EXCHEQUER has ordered 40,000,000 roubles belonging to it in the Paris banks to be sent to London.

A SHOCKING MURDER is reported from the Black Country. John Farnall, the head engineer of a colliery company near Walsall, was deliberately shot by a young man employed under him in an altercation about the latter coming late to work. The unfortunate man died on Saturday evening.

A FATAL RAILWAY COLLISION occurred at Plessis, near Tours, on Tuesday, by which eleven persons were killed and twenty-five wounded. M. Duval, a writer on the *Débats*, was amongst the killed.

A COWKEEPER, at Isleworth, was fined 40s. last Saturday, by the Brentford magistrates, for not having given notice of an outbreak of the foot and mouth disease which had occurred amongst his cattle.

THE MUNICIPALITY OF LILLE have voted 1,500,000f. for the defence of the city, and the Council General of the Department of the Sarthe have voted 2,500,000f. for the purchase of Remington rifles.

THE PRUSSIAN CIVIL GOVERNOR OF ALSACE has issued a proclamation to the Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish clergy. It declares that all are to retain their present rights and stipends. The Church will not be interfered with by the State; but ecclesiastics preaching, speaking, or acting against existing authority will be punished by military law.

THE EXCHEQUER RECEIPTS from April 1 to the 17th inst. amounted to £28,482,049, as against £32,028,864 for the corresponding period of last year. The expenditure was £31,090,774. The balance standing to the credit of the Government in the Bank of England was £3,354,891.

AN ACCIDENT, resulting in a serious loss of life, occurred at Glasgow on Tuesday. A house in the course of erection gave way, and eleven men were buried in the ruins. At least five were killed on the spot, and others are hardly expected to recover.

THE BODY OF A WELL-DRESSED GENTLEMAN was found floating in the Thames, near Waterloo Bridge, on Monday morning. In his pocket several testimonials were found, showing his name to be P. H. M'Kean, an engineer; also a parchment, showing that a person of that name was a Freemason, and a member of Villiers Lodge, Isleworth. From the appearance of the body it had been in the water ten days at least.

THE BRICKYARD belonging to the Fence Colliery Company, at Orgreave, near Rotherham, was entered, last Saturday night, and 24,000 bricks destroyed by being trampled upon. The outrage is suspected to have been committed by trade unionists. Dervick, the man who contracted to make the bricks, keeps aloof from the union, but says he has received no complaints from the members.

A DEMONSTRATION in sympathy with the French Republic took place, on Monday evening, in Trafalgar square. A considerable number of persons were present—processions, accompanied by bands and banners, having marched to the spot from various parts of London, under the auspices of local democratic associations.

THE BRITISH ASSOCIATION brought its meeting at Liverpool to a close on Wednesday, and, upon the whole, it has been a successful and pleasant one. It is thought, however, that it would have been better to have held it a week or two earlier; and on the occasion of the next gathering, which will take place at Edinburgh, it is understood that course will be adopted.

THE ACCOUNTS OF THE MERCANTILE MARINE FUND show that in the year 1869 light dues amounting to £396,572 were received in the United Kingdom. The year's expenditure was £297,755 for maintenance of light-houses, establishment, and charges of collection, and £66,976 for new works and building—making together, £364,731.

A FATAL AFFRAY is reported from the neighbourhood of Leicester. Two men were drinking at a beerhouse, when a quarrel about some old grievance took place. One of them was knocked down and so brutally treated by the other that he died a few minutes afterwards.

THE REVISING BARRISTER IN LAMBERTH drew attention, the other day, to the 19th clause of the Poor Rate and Assessment Act of last Session, under which the overseer is bound to place every copier in the district on the electoral roll, whether rated to the poor or not. The clause in question opened a very wide door to the franchise. The constituency will now number something like 40,000 electors.

A SHOCKING OCCURRENCE has taken place at Greenwich. A man living in a wretched apartment in that town was having his supper, when, enraged at the conduct of one of his children, he threw a knife at him. It missed the boy, but struck his mother, who died in the course of a couple of hours. The man has since given himself up to the police, and a verdict of "manslaughter" has been returned against him by a coroner's jury.

HERR KARL BLIND, in an appeal published in the German press, while insisting on the full rights of Germany in the present war, and laying blame on the vast majority of parties and leaders in France, expresses sympathy with the establishment of the Republic, discrediting and denouncing in strong terms the alleged scheme for a restoration of Napoleon. The refusal of satisfactory guarantees to Germany, he adds, would unfortunately prove a deathblow to the Republic in France; he, therefore, would fain hope that wiser counsels will prevail at Paris.

COUNT PALIKAO, it will be remembered, in reply to a question from the Left, asserted that Marshal Bazaine commanded all the French armies. When he gave this reply, all communications had been cut off with the Marshal for several days. It is now discovered that M'Mahon received his orders from Count Palikao himself, who in his turn carried out instructions which were daily telegraphed to him from the Emperor.

THE ENGINE of the mail-train which met with so fearful an accident near Tamworth last week has been removed from the river into which it was thrown, having sustained comparatively little damage. It is satisfactory to state that, on the stream being carefully searched, no more bodies have been discovered, although it was supposed one or two persons who travelled in the ill-fated train were missing.

PARIS BESIEGED.

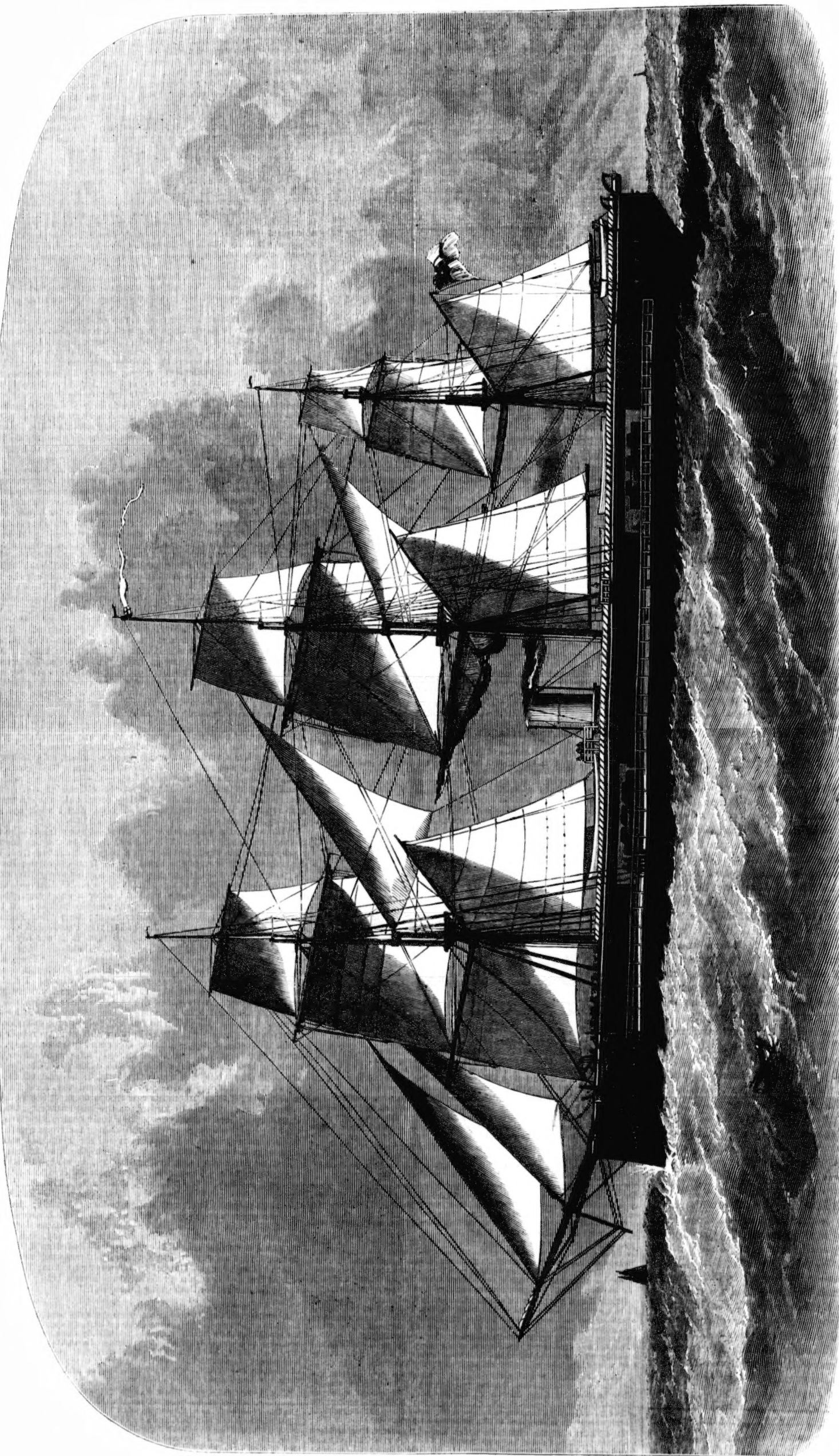
THE scene depicted in our Engraving with the title of the "Stampede into Paris" was graphically described in the ILLUSTRATED TIMES for Sept. 3, page 147. Of course, all that rush of terrified peasants into the capital is now at an end; indeed, it is doubtful whether it ought ever to have been permitted, as so many more "useless mouths" were thereby added to a population already much too numerous for the conditions under which they are to live, and under which they must be fed. Some notion of the scenes to be met with in Paris now may be obtained from the following account of a day's experience by a correspondent of the *Daily News*. His letter is dated last Saturday, and says:—

"Took a fiacre and drove down to see how the citizens of Belleville were getting on this morning, as everyone said that they meant to rise and generally pillage the town. Of course I fraternised with the coachman. En route we met a friend of his in a blouse, who was going to Belleville, where he lives. Invited him to take a seat. Patriot very warlike. Coachman, patriot, and I go through the main streets of Belleville singing the 'Marseillaise.' Belleville men live in the streets; it has got arms, and it drills from morning to night when it is not drinking patriotic toasts. Belleville women live with their heads out of the windows, and freely indulge in chaff. All men and women delight in the Republic, and seem to consider the attack of the Prussians a capital joke. Asked patriot and coachman to breakfast. They are kind enough to accept. We go to an estaminet where, says the patriot, the wine and cooking are excellent, and the sentiments of the guests, like his own, ultra. Can't say much for the cooking or the wine, but the sentiments quite up to sample. Conversation general—Belleville will fight it out to the last—Jules Favre and Government too moderate—they had better take care, or Belleville will kill them—Rocheport, a man with good points about him, but getting rather *tide* in the good cause—ultimately, Belleville means to share the property of the rich, but it means to drive the Prussians from the soil of France first. I give my opinions freely. A cantankerous man in an old uniform suggests that I am not French—perhaps a spy—who knows. I quake in my shoes; patriot comes to my rescue, swears he has known me from an infant, and that I am an ardent American Republican. Patriot and I embrace—other patriots embrace me—coachman embraces me; they all smell of onions—so do I—so it does not matter. Estaminet by this time quite full. The American Republican, the friend of Washington, is asked for a speech. I get on a table. Having read Victor Hugo's last lyrical address to the German nation this morning, I am well up to the mark. I denounce Kings in general, and Napoleon, whom I call a sinister *cognin*, in particular. I represent my Republican home in the Far West as a country in which everyone is rich, where there are no kings, no grandees—only the people. I resume my seat amid tremendous applause, and I am embraced by many patriots. The citizen coachman says he does not want to return; he is little the worse for liquor, so I pay him, again embrace him, and start for an omnibus station, with a 'following.' The top of the 'bus is crowded by Mobiles, with their bayonets on their guns—it looks like a porcupine. I get inside. Find an old lady, an old man, and two Mobiles. We discuss the question of a bombardment. Old gentleman thinks that the drains will be the best place. Old lady says that she has heard that they have been filled with powder, to blow up the town if the Prussians enter it. On the whole, we decide not to take to the drains, except at the last extremity. Old gentleman tells Mobiles that he had three sons in the army, all of whom have died for France. Don't believe him; anyone of a certain age declares that he has a dozen children, who were soldiers, and have been killed. Old gentleman is not in mourning, and, if he has lost his sons in battle, he shows a noble resignation. The Mobiles are peasants from the Gironde; they are more like two awkward girls than soldiers; when I speak to them they nudge each other and grin imbecilely. I ask them what they think of Trochu, and they do not seem to ever have heard of him. When Mobiles and old lady get down I am left alone with old gentleman. 'When,' said Lord Palmerston, 'you really want to know anything about public opinion, consult the man in the white hat in the omnibus.' Old gentleman has a white hat, and is in an omnibus, so I follow the advice of the veteran Pam, and consult him. Old gentleman thinks that Paris will not resist long—the bourgeoisie will not stand being ruined. 'What about the ultras?' I ask. 'The bourgeoisie will put them down if they break out,' the old gentleman replies. We arrive at the Madeleine, and I wish the sage good-by, and get out.

"Have taken a walk on the boulevard—meet a friend—he tells me that there was serious fighting last night on the Orleans railroad—friend has breakfasted with a man just arrived from Vincennes; nothing seen of the Prussians in that direction; further on poor people were picking potatoes, when twenty-five uhlans came on them—there was a general stampede. Uhlans rode about until French cavalry came up, and, after a short engagement, killed one and made two prisoners, the rest skedaddled. A little further on meet a man in the Government; he reviles England, and says that she ought to recognise the Provisional Government. I agree with him; explain that it is not my fault; as, strange to say, neither Mr. Gladstone nor Lord Granville have consulted me on the subject. 'They ought to have done so,' he replies, and in this sentiment I again concur. I go into a tobacconist's to buy cigars. I find the tobacconist and his assistant girt with swords, and practising the musket exercise. After a few minutes, he sinks the warrior into the tradesman, and sells me some cigars. 'Any news?' he asks. 'None,' I reply. He points to the soil beneath us, and gloomily observes the whole town is mined; we will blow it up rather than yield. We will, I reply—light a cigar and part company. Sit down before a café, when I see an ex-Confederate officer, who distinguished himself in aiding in the defence of Charlestown. Ex-Confederate has been round the forts, is hopeful of success; says that Trochu ought never to go beyond the forts in large masses—ought to accustom his raw troops to meet the enemy by degrees. He says that he knows, on the best authority, that the Prussians are in a bad way respecting their communications, and that the Francs-Tireurs are making things far from comfortable to them in their rear. I hope it is so, for I do not want the Prussians to be comfortable. I ask about the bombardment. It did us no particular harm in Charlestown, he said; one soon gets accustomed to it. I suggest that perhaps an erratic bomb may prevent my having the time to get accustomed to it. 'That's true,' he says. 'The town,' he adds, 'one would almost think, has been specially built with a view to be bombarded; the stone, where stone is used, is very hard, and most of the houses—in fact, all those built by Haussmann—have iron beams instead of wooden ones.' 'I am delighted to hear it,' I say, and I smile, though I inwardly feel, as I leave my ex-Confederate, that, not having myself a house in Paris, these iron beams will not save my bones. The thought I repel as an unworthy one; but still, I almost feel as if I would prefer a dozen houses being bombarded to the ground rather than being hit myself."

A COMMITTEE OF LADIES has been formed for the benefit of the widows and orphans left destitute by the present unfortunate war. While warmly acknowledging how much England has already done for the sick and wounded, they earnestly hope that the women of a country where the blessings of peace and the happiness of unbroken family ties are still preserved will be ready to extend their active sympathy to the widows and orphans of Germany and France, who mourn the loss of husbands and fathers in their now desolate and unprovided homes.

THE INTERNATIONAL FOUR-OARED RACE at Lachine, on the St. Lawrence, in Canada, has resulted in an easy six-lengths' victory for the English Tyne crew over the St. John's "Paris" crew of Canadians. The Tyne men took the lead from the first, so the telegraphic despatch informs us, and rounded the buoy with a good lead of three or four lengths, which was maintained and increased to the finish. The race was a six-mile course—three miles with and three against a strong current, and occupied over 41 min. 10 sec. (twice as long a time as a race from Putney to Mortlake), so there can be no doubt as to the stamina as well as the speed of the Tyne men.



H.M.S. CAPTAIN, LATELY SUNK OFF CAPE FINISTERRE.

HER MAJESTY'S LATE SHIP CAPTAIN.
H.M.S. CAPTAIN was built on the design of Captain Cowper Coles, the inventor of the turret principle, by Messrs. Laird and Sons, Birkenhead. She was commanded by Captain Hugh Burgoyne, V.C., a son of Field Marshal Sir John Burgoyne, and himself a most distinguished and skilful officer. In her first experimental cruise in competition with the Monarch, under the eye of Admiral Sir Thomas Symonds, the Captain fulfilled the highest expectations of the designer and builders, whether as regards seaworthiness in all weathers or general handiness and efficiency as a powerful man-of-war. As a rival to the Monarch, which was constructed on Mr. Reed's design, the merits of the Captain became the

subject of much controversy in naval circles: but it was generally agreed that in the whole Navy List there was not a more formidable fighting man-of-war, and great hopes were formed of future improved "Captains." The Captain had a burden of 4272 tons and a nominal horse-power of 900 horses. The central part of the hull was plated with iron of 8 in., which was reduced at the extremities. She had two turrets, which were plated with 9 in. and 10 in. iron. The hull was only 10 ft. out of the water when ready for action.

Captain Burgoyne, who perished with the ill-fated vessel, was born, in Dublin, in 1833, and entered the Navy in 1847. He was made a Com-

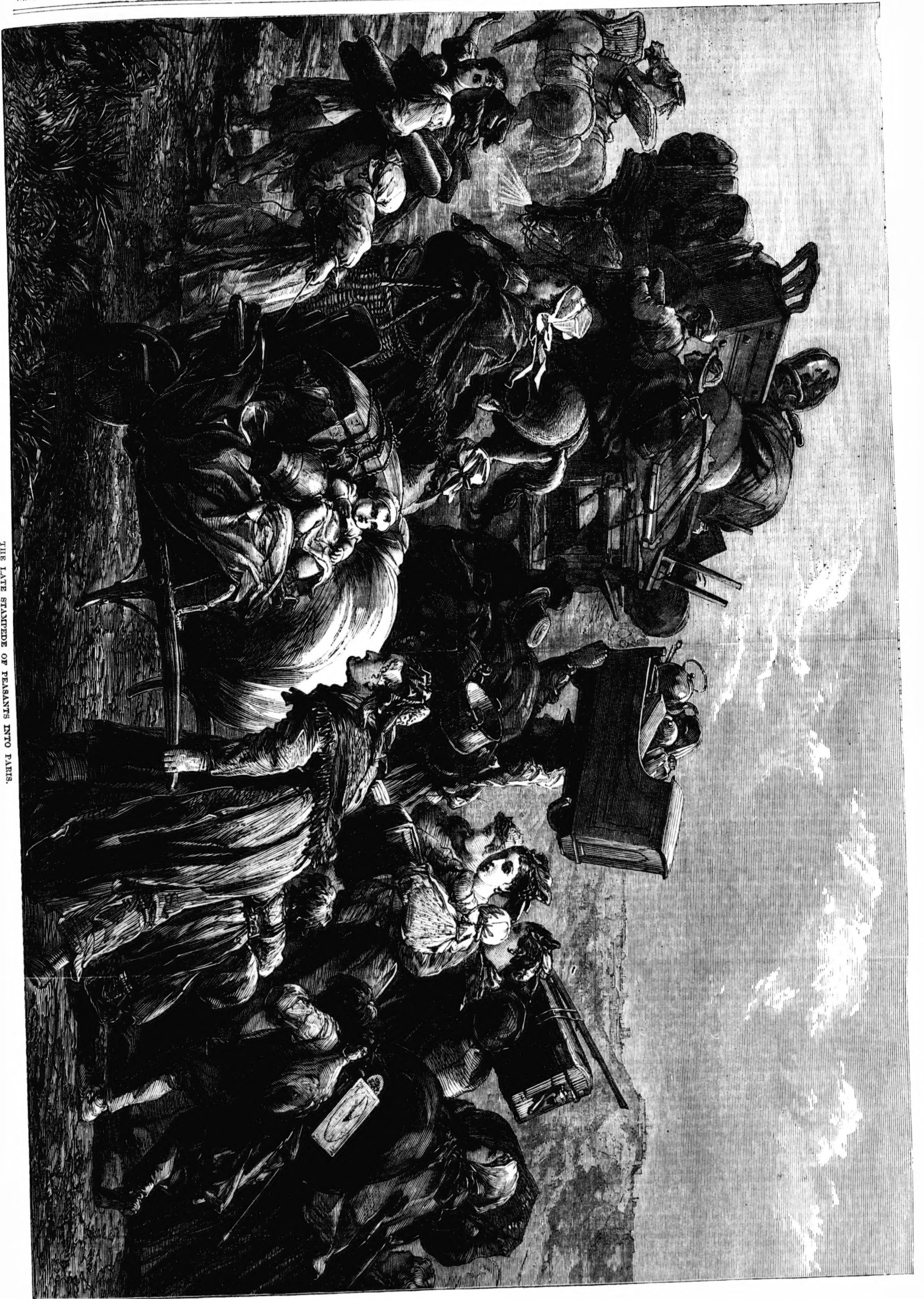
mander in the Navy in 1856. At the taking of Kinburn he was in command of the Wrangler gun-boat; and in 1857 he received the Victoria Cross for personal bravery. He also received from the Turkish Government the order of the Medjidie, and from the French Government the cross of the Legion of Honour.

Captain Cowper Phipps Coles was born in 1819, and entered the Navy in 1831. In October, 1854, he took an active part in the assault on Sebastopol. He designed the principle of the shield ironclad ships, and superintended the construction of the Royal Sovereign.

Her Majesty the Queen, in a message to Sir Sydney Dacres, desires that measures may be taken to signify to the widows and relatives of the

whole of the crew who perished in the unfortunate Captain her deep sympathy with them, and the assurance that she feels acutely the misfortune which has at once deprived her of one of her finest ships and so many gallant seamen.

Captain Sherard Osborn appeals to the public for contributions to the fund established at Portsmouth for the relief of the widows and families of the officers and crew who perished in the Captain. Subscriptions to the "Captain Relief Fund" may be paid in London to Messrs. Glynn and Co., 67, Lombard-street; Messrs. Coutts and Co., Strand; and the National Provincial Bank of England, or Messrs. Hallet and Co., 7, St. Martin's-place, Trafalgar-square.



THE LATE STAMPEDE OF PEASANTS INTO PARIS.

THE LOUNGER.

WHEN the loss of the Captain came to be known, a hundred gentlemen, more or less able writers, prepared to rush into print, and in every newspaper, daily and weekly, we had leading articles on the disaster, and letters commenting, explaining, suggesting, warning, censuring, excusing, until the British public has got, as it generally does under such circumstances, fairly bewildered; and certain facts in the case which ought to stand out prominently are likely to be submerged in the weltering controversy and wholly lost. To prevent this, let me seize these facts and place them well before your readers. It is, then, a fact that, though the Board of Admiralty has a staff of educated, trained, and thoroughly competent professional scientific men to advise them as to what ships ought to be built, to frame plans, and to superintend the building, the design of the Captain was adopted in opposition to the advice of every one of these professional men. Then the ship was not built in a Government yard; but upon this fact I lay no stress, for doubtless ships can be built by private builders as well as they can by the Admiralty. But here is a fact which seems to me very extraordinary. The working plans of the ship were not made by the Admiralty staff. Surely, when it was decided to have the ship built by a private firm, the Admiralty ought to have stipulated that the working plans should be drawn by the Admiralty staff. But this was not done. The Messrs. Laird were not only the contractors to build the ship, but they were the architects. True, the design was Captain Cowper Coles's, but Captain Coles was not a professional naval architect. He could not make the working drawings. Then, again, no professional naval architect for the Admiralty examined and checked these plans or superintended the building of the ship to see that it was built according to the approved plans. Of course, the Admiralty had a clerk of the works to see that the materials were good and that the work was done well. And now what happened?—may I say as the result of this strange arrangement? surely I may;—why, when the ship was launched her designer discovered that she was 800 tons deeper in the water than he meant her to be, and that, consequently, her freeboard was considerably lower than had been intended. This strange blunder, I think I may confidently say, was the result of the unusual, unprecedented arrangements which I have described; for it is absolutely certain that if the ship had been designed by the Constructor of the Navy, and built under his superintendence, the blunder could not have occurred. I, not being a naval architect nor a sailor, will not presume positively to decide whether an addition of 2 ft. to the freeboard of the ship might have saved her. But does it not seem logical to infer that if this turret-ship was not a safe seagoing vessel because her freeboard was too low, she would have been safer if her freeboard had been 2 ft. higher? And, if this be so; if, but for this blunder, the ship might have been now afloat, it was a terribly costly blunder. I had written thus far when I received the *Manchester Guardian*, which contains a report of Mr. Reed's remarks at a meeting of the British Association, and he confirms every word I have said. Indeed, it might be thought that I received my facts from Mr. Reed himself; but I did not. I have received no communication from the late Constructor since the disaster occurred, nor from anyone in the Constructor's department. The facts of the case were known to me before I left town, five weeks ago. The newspapers have drawn many lessons from this appalling calamity. Mr. Lowe also drew a lesson. I am not going to comment upon these lessons; but I will draw one more—viz., that the Admiralty ought not to take the business of designing and building ships out of the hands of its own trained professional staff and hand it over to amateurs, not to say empirics.

Mr. Lowe is a very effective speaker. He aims at being effective, and he generally succeeds. But, in his anxiety to be effective, to make an impression, he is often extravagant and exaggerated. He was so when he spoke at Elgin the other day. He was anxious to show his hearers that our Parliamentary system of doing business is cumbersome, and, in short, works badly; and he told them that the House of Commons "goes on very comfortably and quietly for the first four months, wasting four fifths of its time; and at the end of that period everything is in fearful array and confusion, and we wait till the end of the Session before anything is done." This is not true. In the Session of 1869 the House of Commons passed the bill disestablishing the Irish Church during the first four months of the Session. It was read the third time on May 31. During the first four months of this year the House passed the Irish Land Bill, and made some progress with the Education Bill. Was this wasting time?

Is no time, then, wasted? Very much, I answer. Much by private members in introducing futile, impossible measures and useless motions. Mr. Lowe complains that Government have only two nights a week, and that one of these is often taken away by private members introducing motions on going into Supply. This is true, and it is an evil requiring reform. Government ought to have three out of the five nights, and the privilege of bringing on motions on going into Supply might be restricted with advantage. The privilege of insisting that the Crown shall redress grievances before the House will grant money is a very ancient and reasonable privilege, and it ought not to be abolished; but the privilege is abused. Indeed, as it is now exercised, it is neither ancient nor reasonable. The theory of the ancient privilege was this: Her Majesty asks her faithful Commons for money to carry on the business of the State. To which faithful Commons replies, "Yes, your Majesty, if your Majesty will first redress this, or that heavy grievance; if not, not." But then the grievance ought to be a real grievance, and not a trifling or sham grievance, got up merely to enable some member to air his eloquence and get reputation amongst his constituents. Thus, Mr. Macle has a fixed idea that patents ought to be abolished. Then why does he not bring in a bill to abolish them? Because he knows that there is no chance of getting such a bill passed. Or, if he only wants to call attention to the evil of these laws, and make a motion thereon, why does he not put down his motion for a private members' night? Because he fears no member would stop to listen to him. But on going into Supply he can have the House safe, as the Government on such an occasion will keep the House. And this I say is an abuse of the ancient privilege. Fancy a member moving that the House do not grant supplies to the Government unless the Government will first assent to his proposition that patents ought to be abolished, and thus pledge themselves, in a manner, to originate a bill for their abolition! The thing is absurd. It is altogether an abuse of the old privilege.

I have got Cobden's speeches here; and, quite accidentally, I turned this morning to a speech which he delivered in the House of Commons on June 17, 1851. The subject of it is "International Reduction of National Armaments;" and in it I find a good deal which our Ministers would do well to consider, when the time shall come, and I hope it will come very soon, to settle the terms of peace between France and Prussia. Mr. Cobden, in his speech, strongly urged that the English and French Governments should come to some arrangement to limit their naval armaments. At that time there was confessedly an eager rivalry going on between the two nations, each wishing to possess a fleet as strong as the other; building ship against ship, arming fort against fort; each pleading, almost in the same words, as an excuse, that her rival was increasing her armaments. "Where is this to end?" asked Mr. Cobden. "Why should not the two nations agree to stop?" This agreement could not be come to then, though the wisdom of it could not be denied. But amongst the terms of peace it may be that France may have to bind herself to reduce her navy very much; and it struck me, whilst I read this speech, that then our Government might step in, and agree not to increase our Navy; for, if the French navy is to be reduced, what can we want with a larger navy than we have already? For be it observed that it was always France, and no other Power, that we feared.

It is Sir Walter Scott, I think, who tells the story of a certain

Italian knight in the old chivalric days who, being engaged to champion the name of a lady of doubtful reputation, felt that he could not conscientiously fight in such a cause, and so gave way before his antagonist; whereupon the latter taunted him with cowardice. That was enough. The Italian now had a cause in hand for which he could, as he said, "fight to the death"—his own reputation; and, returning to the lists, he did his devoir like a true man. The case of Republican France may possibly prove not dissimilar to that of the Italian knight in Sir Walter's story. At the commencement of this war France had a bad cause in hand; she was in the wrong, and, whether fully conscious of it or not, could scarcely be expected to fight well with so heavy a load upon her arm. "A sinful heart makes feeble hand." If there be any foundation for certain sinister rumours now current to the effect that the King of Prussia, disliking Republicanism, has a mind to restore the ex-Emperor to power, and so saddle France anew with the Bonaparte dynasty, the French people, it seems to me, would have a most excellent cause in hand, for which they might well fight to the death in resisting such a project. Better a thousand times to let Paris fall a prey to war, to let the whole country be overrun, to brave utter ruin, in short, than consent to come once more under the sway of the man, the system, and the creatures who inaugurated a rule of corruption, sham, and arrogance, and have among them murdered intellect, morality, manliness, and independence of spirit in so very many of France's public men. No fate could well be worse than that; and, if proof were needed that the Empire of the restoration would be like unto the Empire of the coup-d'état and the plebiscites, it is furnished by the tone of a journal just set up in London by the self-exiled, because self-condemned, parasites of the Second Empire. I have not seen this publication myself, being, as you know, out of the way just now of such things; but if the accounts be true that I read and hear of the contents of *La Situation*, it is a sorry exhibition indeed. It is said to be conducted by a protégé of M. Rouher, and is, perhaps, maintained and inspired by the ex-Minister through whose instrumentality the personal government that has brought so heavy a retribution upon France was carried to its highest degree of perfection—or rather of infamy. Here is the description I read of the new organ and vindicator of Imperialism:—"It is a small sheet, called *La Situation*, and sold, as its front page informs the world, for 'un penny.' The object of *La Situation* is to advocate the cause of the fallen Emperor, and to revile all his enemies. It recognises, as its programme announces, 'no other legitimate powers in France but those conferred on the Empress Regent by the Emperor.' It maintains that there are no other French Ministers at present 'but those grouped by the Empress round Count Palikao' (where are they, by-the-way?); that those Ministers alone are qualified to present themselves to the Senate and the Legislative Body; and that only a plebiscite freely voted can annul the existence of these latter assemblies. It compares the Emperor as a prisoner to John the Good and Francis I. (why not to Saint Louis?), and describes the late French Senate as 'composed of all the forces of the country,' and the late Corps Législatif as a body chosen under Liberal conditions wholly exceptional. The theory of *La Situation* is that this glorious Senate and this incomparable Corps Législatif were just on the point of putting into operation, by means of the most splendid generals and officers, measures which would have swept the Germans into the Rhine or the Vistula, or, perhaps, for that matter, the Ganges—when a set of treasonable brigands, headed by Trochu, Thiers, and Favre, broke in upon the 'counsels of the wise and the valour of the brave,' laid hands upon the Lord's anointed, and flung down bound and bleeding France at the feet of the Prussian conqueror. Count Palikao, it seems, was the noble dupe of his own heroic simplicity and innocence. He could not believe in the possibility of Trochu's treachery. Terrible pictures are painted of the wickedness of Trochu. The Emperor had honoured him with full confidence, and charged him with the defence of the capital 'in a scene worthy of the days of antiquity,' and yet Trochu consented to the declaration of a Republic. Europe has been often afflicted, says *La Situation*, by the treason of Spanish Generals greedy of power; but it is forced to avow, 'washing its face with its hands,' that 'if there are degrees in treason, the French General has, in one single bound, surmounted them all.' M. Thiers, too, was very bad. He was the superannuated Mephistopheles of the transaction. The rest are all miscreants, assassins, traitors, and so forth. The only hope for France now is to convene somewhere on French soil the regularly constituted ruling bodies, the Senate and the Corps Législatif. *La Situation*, however, admits that at the present moment there would be some little difficulty in accomplishing this object." Bourbons, it would seem, are not the only persons who "learn nothing and forget nothing." Here is a set of men who have aided in bringing ruin and disgrace upon France after having corrupted and robbed her, and who yet have the unblushing effrontery to defame the men who had the courage to face the storm which they had raised, but from which they fled, and the patriotism to endeavour to repair the mischief these sneaking parasites had caused! The men of September may not be the Heaven-sent instruments who are to free France from her troubles; I hope they will prove so, but that has still to be shown; yet they are not for one moment to be compared to the creatures of "light heart," bragg, bounce, blunder, and bamboozlement who controlled French destinies in July and August. Well may France pray and fight against being handed over once more to the sway of the men who grew up under the Second Empire; and, if she be destined so to fight and to pray, I hope that her petitions will be heard and that her arms will prosper.

THE LITERARY LOUNGER.
THE MAGAZINES.

In referring, last week, to the *Gentleman's Magazine*, I forgot to say a word that was certainly due to the allegation by the "learned Frenchman" that the Germans envied the French their "literature" and their "arts." I see, Sir, that another contributor dealt with this topic in a previous Number of the ILLUSTRATED TIMES; but the same mad, almost incredible, kind of talk goes on in the French newspapers, and it may be worth while, perhaps, to handle it with a little precision. Well, in one of the arts—Music—Germany ranks before all other nations. Not even Italy, her only rival in this "art," can show such a list as Handel, Mozart, Beethoven, Haydn, Mendelssohn, Weber, and Sebastian Bach. In diffused musical culture, again, the Germans are superior to every other people. Now take Poetry, the first of the "arts." Here the Germans rank next to England and Greece—they themselves gladly own the supremacy of the land of Shakespeare, Chaucer, Spenser, and Milton. The French ridiculed Shakespeare; the Germans—men like Goethe, Tieck, Schlegel, and Lessing—taught them—and us too—to understand him. They have three most excellent translations of him, by first-class men; and no Englishman would for a moment deny that with the Germans began the true criticism of his writings. In original poetry they can show no such constellation as we can within a century—Wordsworth, Byron, Shelley, and Keats, and Scott; but, on the other hand, we have no single name since Shakespeare that can be ranked as the intellectual equal of Goethe, who, it must be remembered, was a man of science and a critic, as well as the author of "Faust"—the one work by which he is chiefly known in England. Then there are Schiller, Wieland, Schlegel, Lessing, Novalis, Heine, and Uhland. In general literature they have Richter—a man unparalleled—Tieck, Lessing, Herder, Jacobi, Goethe, Schiller, and the Humboldts. In abstract philosophy France has no great originating name since Descartes, though I suppose a high claim will be made for Comte; and we have none since Locke, Hume, and Berkeley. Germany has her Kant, Fichte, Schelling, Hegel—the first and fourth great originators, and the first the most widely and deeply influential of modern thinkers. In other departments of philosophy, in philology, &c., the world has no names that can stand before

those of Humboldt, Bopp, Grimm, and Max Müller. In the critical writing of history the Germans have led the van, and still lead it, though here, both in France and England, they are closely approached. In light literature France is superior to Germany; in criticism, too, she has splendid names—Taine, Sainte-Beuve, Remusat, &c. In science generally she rivals Germany—no more; and in diffusion of scientific knowledge she is behind her. In political science and political instinct France is much in advance of her neighbour. But in face of these undoubted facts, and the fact, too, that the dominating intellectual and moral currents in Europe and in America (where German books are more read than here) have been for a quarter of a century and still are German (and they show no signs of thinning, but the reverse), how can a sane Frenchman talk of Germany envying France? Europe owes a great debt to France, and Germany shares largely in that debt (though the trifle of having been twenty-five times attacked by her must be put in the other scale); and we all like to feel that France is in the van of progress. She must and will be there. But it is really curious to notice how utterly unteachable she has proved in this matter of depreciating Teuton genius. It is thirty years or more since Mr. Carlyle wrote this:—"Above a century ago the Père Bouhours pronounced to himself the pregnant question, Si un Allemand peut avoir de l'esprit?" (whether a German could have fine intelligence?) In a strain of profound banter Mr. Carlyle goes on to say:—"Had the Père Bouhours bethought him of what country Kepler and Leibnitz were, or who it was that gave to mankind the three great elements of modern civilisation—gunpowder, printing, and the Protestant religion, it might have thrown light on his inquiry;" and much more in the same vein. Of course, no Frenchman of high ability would rave about France envying Germany her art and literature; but journalists are educated men, and M. Edmond About ranks high in general capacity. What, then, is at the bottom of this ancient and apparently inveterate tendency? I venture to think it is vanity so obstinate as to prompt positive lying. M. About must know better, and all respectable journalists must know better. I ought to add (what, however, the reader would be sure to supply) that in wit the Germans may well envy the French. Of course they have no writers who can hold a candle to Molière or Voltaire.

The *Fortnightly* and the *Contemporary* each contain papers about the war and the Bismarck policy. They are very similar in tone, both of them depreciating the territorial guarantee notion. Mr. Morley, however, rightly says that the dismantling of fortresses, like the reduction of armaments, stands on quite another footing. Mr. Keble writes a very pleasing paper about "Political Reputations." We may doubt whether Palmerston was not the last man of his type—for a long time to come. Personal qualities will no longer make reputations of the strictly political kind. By-the-by, Disraeli's "reputation," taken as a whole, is a mongrel affair, is it not? Is it strictly political? Dr. Lionel S. Beale, on the "Mystery of Life," writes extremely well; but what he has to say is perfectly obvious to most of us. Mr. W. T. Thornton is also good on "Anti-Utilitarianism;" but I am sorry to see so able a man committing himself to that futile classification of pleasures! If mere quantity of pleasure is in question, surely the Mohammedan heaven must be admitted to be nearly a perfect scheme. Mr. Henderson's article on "Hegel as a Politician" should be read by those who fancy that a German metaphysician (and of the whole tribe Hegel is the most characteristically German, according to the vulgar estimate of the national peculiarities) must be destitute of practical wisdom. "Russia and Alexander II.," by Mr. F. Mark, is also very interesting. Altogether, a capital, solid, opportune number.

The war has produced nothing finer in tone or more subtle in thought and expression than Mr. R. H. Hutton's paper in the current *Contemporary Review*. Professor Calderwood, like other critics, does not seem to me to follow Professor Huxley's "little game" closely enough. The best thing said about that gentleman yet is by the Rev. John Hunt—that "he always sweeps his own doorstep clean." Yes, that is what Mr. Huxley always does. "Thorough!" is his motto. The Rev. Alfred Church writes a paper on "Day Schools: their Advantages and Disadvantages," which is so excellent that I should like to see it reproduced as a tract. The same of Miss Florence Hill's paper on "The Family System for Workhouse Children." But it is a curious instance of the want of bold thinking which is the general rule, even among able men, that it never once strikes the Rev. Alfred Church that we are not necessarily shut up either to day schools, boarding schools, or pure home education. Cannot human imagination conceive a fourth plan? I conceived a fourth plan many years ago; but it would take up too much space to discuss it in a newspaper.

THE THEATRICAL LOUNGER.

If I am compelled this week to make an entry in the dramatic ledger of a loss or failure, I am at the same time able to balance the account with a healthy success. I can afford to smile at the mistake of "Innisfallen," Mr. E. Falconer's latest Irish drama, at the LYCEUM, while welcoming a Shakespearean revival at the QUEEN'S.

To tell the truth, I think most people expected another "Oonagh," when they consented to assist at the first representation of "Innisfallen." The audience, last Saturday night, in its bluff, hearty English manner, was quite prepared to forgive Mr. Falconer his numerous dramatic peccadilloes, and for the sake of his misfortunes, to force "Innisfallen," *coûte que coûte*, into another "Peep-o'-Day" success. But such a generous task was hopeless. Mr. Falconer forged his own fetters. The audience bravely forgave the recitation of an intolerable ballad about The O'Donoghue and his white steed, though the most distressing and painful silence reigned in the house during the recital of this bad prize poem. The audience forgave Mr. W. M. Terrott for croaking out, in a cruel and throaty fashion, some stupid Irish songs whenever a carpenter's scene was required for the purpose of giving time for a heavy set. The audience overlooked the absence of interest, the disappointment of a balked sensation scene, the childish construction, and the absurd verbiage, for the space of two hours and a half; but when half-past ten o'clock came, and then eleven, merely producing more talk and more rhodomontade, the audience broke out into open mutiny. They would not stand it any longer; and between the hours of eleven and twelve a pitiful scene took place at the Lyceum, degrading enough to those who have some vain hope left that the drama will rise out of the Slough of Despond into which it has fallen. The pit shrieked, the gallery coughed, the upper boxes chafed, the stalls and private boxes merely groaned. The carpenters turned mutinous, and ran on the scenes anyhow, only anxious to get the whole thing over. The majority of the artists behaved with wonderful presence of mind, and played up bravely to the end; but, strange to say, the great author and actor, Mr. Edmund Falconer, for whose sole glorification the great Irish drama of "Innisfallen" must have been produced, yielded to the excitement of the scene, and began to act with really pitiful extravagance. I only wish Mr. Falconer could have seen the exhibition he made of himself when he deliberately chafed his most emotional passage. Mr. Falconer may think it vastly funny in a serious portion of the play to turn it into ridicule, and throw himself down on the stage and kick, but such a proceeding is insulting to any audience, and extremely cruel towards the young lady who is playing up so well, and is attempting to save the drama from ruin. I quite blushed for Mr. Falconer when I saw the expression on the face of Miss Ernestine, a young and promising actress, who might fairly have expected kinder treatment at the hands of her manager. Mr. Falconer's follies did not end with this scene. When the house had been nearly emptied by the intolerable folly on the stage, and when the play had been thoroughly and soundly condemned, Mr. Falconer must needs come forward, and, after taking credit to himself for a triumph, proceed, in another sesquipedalian speech, to unfold the programme for the coming Lyceum campaign. It is

needless for me to add that Falconer, and nothing but Falconer, occurred right through this absurd speech; and I am grieved to say no mention was made of the artists who, by their good taste and energy, so far pulled "Innisfallen" out of the mire. What Mr. Falconer would have done without Miss Ernestine, Miss Patti Joseph, Miss O'Hara, Mr. John Nelson, and Mr. Emory, I cannot say, though nearly every one of these clever people appeared in characters of which literally nothing in the world could be made. "Innisfallen" is, in short, one of those plays which the sooner it is forgotten the better it will be for every one concerned in it.

But, on the other hand, it is pleasant to meet with such a capital revival of Shakespeare's "Midsummer Night's Dream" at the Queen's, and to find so much attention paid, and so much care bestowed, on our neglected poet. However much I may agree with the very just criticism that to those of highly-refined sensibilities such a play as this is better not put on the stage at all, still, at the present day, I cannot help thinking that the mere fever of the Shakespearean boom may possibly be catching. To inoculate an audience with Shakespeare may ward off the smallpox of vulgarity which is in our midst. It is quite true that this play of all others, when acted, suggests a pantomime rather than a poem. Puck and his gambols; the ass's head and the strings which pull open his mouth; the ballet and the children, the gauze and the lime-light, the fairies and the fairy queen, the burlesque prince (Oberon), and the good genius (Titania), all these things suggest, with the addition of Messrs. Bottom and Co., both the pretty opening of a pantomime and the comic business as well. This I quite allow. But every now and then you get such a whiff of sweetness, such a scent of suggestion, that I cannot help thinking the poetry got the better of the commonplace. I am quite aware that the imaginative student does not picture fairies in the least like Madame Collier's trained children; does not understand Puck at all to be the clear-voiced pantomimic archer Miss Tilly Wright makes him out; does not think of Oberon as a burlesque prince, and does not "cotton" to the young ladies of the ballet, who come tripping in with short blue skirts. Still there is something about the Queen's revival which, with all its faults, makes it superior to such trashy dramas as for a long time occupied the stage at this theatre. It is a step in the right direction, and Mr. Ryder may be congratulated on his well-earned success. It is a treat also to get Mr. Phelps to play Bottom, and to prove what a comic actor we have lost in him. To judge by the success of comic actors nowadays, Mr. Phelps must have lost a small fortune by turning tragedian. I do not expect to see anything much finer than this impersonation. He appears to me to be better than he was at Sadler's Wells in 1853. I am sorry to disagree with anyone; but I do not like the landscape scenery by Mr. Gordon. I do not think Mr. Gordon is a woodland painter.

SIR JOHN LUBBOCK ON SAVAGES.

In connection with the meeting of the British Association Sir John Lubbock, Bart., M.P., F.R.S., last Saturday evening, gave a very lively and interesting lecture to the operatives of Liverpool on the subject of "Savages." Professor Huxley presided. The lecturer, after a few opening remarks, said that "even those who consider that man was civilised from the beginning, and look upon savages as the degenerate descendants of much superior parents, must still admit that our ancestors were once mere savages, and may find therefore much interest in this study. But it, no doubt, appears far more important to those who think, as I do, that the primitive condition of man was one of barbarism, and that the history of the human race has, on the whole, been one of progress." He then spoke of the thoughts, the laws, the ornaments, and the marriage relationships of savages, showing how in these things savages differ widely from each other, and still more widely from the civilised white, who without much study cannot gain a knowledge even of the modes of thought of many savages. The speaker gave instances how traces of the customs of savage ancestors are to be found in civilised races; and, finally, he spoke of the rise and progress of religious ideas. First, he spoke of "Fetichism," or the worship of material substances; then of the worship of the heavenly bodies; and, lastly, of the worship of deified men after death. He told of the rise and progress of the belief in a life after bodily death, and said:—

"The Greenlanders believe in the reality of dreams and think that at night their spirit actually goes hunting, visiting, courting, and so on. It is, of course, obvious that the body takes no part in these nocturnal adventures, and hence it is natural to conclude that they have a spirit which can quit the body. Lastly, when they dream of their departed friends or relatives, savages firmly believe that they are visited by the spirits of the dead, and hence believe, not indeed in the immortality of the soul, but in the existence of a spirit which survives, or may survive, the body. But, though spirits are naturally to be dreaded, on various accounts, it by no means follows that they should be conceived as necessarily wiser or more powerful than man. Of this our spirit-rappers and table-turners afford us a familiar illustration. So also the natives of the Nicobar Islands put up scarecrows round their villages to frighten away hostile spirits. The natives of Kamkatka insult their deities if their wishes are unfulfilled. They even feel a contempt for them. If Kutka, they say, had not been stupid, would he have made inaccessible mountains and too rapid rivers? The Lapps made images of their gods, putting each in a separate box, on which was written the name of the deity, so that each might know its own box."

At the close of his lecture Sir John Lubbock said:—

"Gradually, however, an increased acquaintance with the laws of nature enlarged the mind of man. He first supposed that the Deity fashioned the earth, raising it out of the water and preparing it as a dwelling-place for man; and subsequently realised the idea that land and water were alike created by Divine power. After regarding spirits as altogether evil, he rose to a belief in good as well as in evil deities, and, gradually subordinating the latter to the former, worshipped the good spirits alone as gods, the evil sinking to the level of demons. From believing only in ghosts, he came gradually to the recognition of the soul: at length uniting this belief with that in a beneficent and just Being, he connected morality with religion, a step the importance of which it is scarcely possible to over-estimate. Thus we see that as men rise in civilisation their religion rises with them; that far from being antagonistic to religion, without science true religion is impossible."

"The Australians dimly imagine a Being, spiteful, malevolent, but weak, and dangerous only in the dark. The negro's Deity is more powerful, but not less hateful—invisible, indeed, but subject to pain, mortal, like himself, and liable to be made the slave of man by enchantment. The deities of the South-Sea Islanders are some good, some evil; but, on the whole, more is to be feared from the latter than to be hoped from the former. They fashioned the land, but are not truly creators, for earth and water existed before them. They do not punish the evil nor reward the good. They watch over the affairs of men; but if, on the one hand, witchcraft has no power over them, neither, on the other, can prayer influence them. They require to share the crops or the booty of their worshippers. Thus, then, every increase in science—that is, positive and ascertained knowledge in science—brings with it an elevation of religion. Nor is this progress confined to the lower races. Even within the last century, science has purified the religion of Western Europe by rooting out the dark belief in witchcraft, which led to thousands of executions, and hung like a black pall over the Christianity of the Middle Ages."

"Yet, in spite of these immense services which science has conferred rendered to the cause of religion, there are still many who look on it as hostile to religious truth, forgetting that science is but exact knowledge, and that he who regards it as incompatible with his religion practically admits that his religion is untenable. Others, again, maintain that, although science and religion cannot indeed be at variance, yet that the teaching of scientific men, or rather of some scientific men, is in open hostility to religion. What justification is there, however, for this idea? No scientific

man, so far as I know, has ever been supposed to have taught anything which he did not himself believe. That surely was their right—may, their duty; their duty alike to themselves, to you—for their devotion to truth is their best claim to your confidence—may, to religion also, for nothing could be more fatal to religion than that it should be supposed to require the suppression of truth. No, the true spirit of faith looks on the progress of science, not with fear but with hope, knowing that science can influence our religious conceptions for good only."

"Whether, then, as some suppose, science is destined profoundly to modify our present religious views or not—into which question I do not now wish to enter—no one on that account ought to regard it with apprehension or with distrust. Far from it, we must be prepared to accept any conclusions to which the evidence may lead; not in the spirit of resignation or of despair, but in the sure and certain hope that every discovery of science, even if it may conflict with our present opinions and with convictions we hold dear, will open out to us more and more the majestic grandeur of the universe in which we live, and thus enable us to form nobler, and therefore truer, conceptions of religious truth."

LONDON WATER.

THE medical officer of the Privy Council, in his report, recently issued, on the proceedings of his department in 1869, reviews Mr. Radcliffe's account of the water supplied by the Southwark and Vauxhall and the Lambeth Water companies, an examination undertaken last year in consequence of Professor Frankland having, in his monthly communications to the Registrar-General, called attention to the turbidity of the water supplied by these companies. Mr. Simon says:—

First, as regards the fact of turbidity, Mr. Radcliffe found Dr. Frankland's assertions abundantly confirmed by others; and especially as regards the Southwark and Vauxhall company, he found the officers of health, in districts where the water was supplied, writing of it as having been "almost uniformly, throughout the whole of last winter (1868-9) very turbid and of a yellow colour;" and comparing it to "diluted pea-soup or a yellow November fog," or describing it as, "during the winter and spring, very much stained and murky;" and, when received direct from the mains into the Bermondsey public baths, "frequently quite useless, although the company have put a strainer on the supply-pipe, to keep back dead fish and other matters, which show the unfiltered state in which it is often delivered." And even after Mr. Radcliffe's inquiry, Dr. Sanderson, of this department, on making microscopic examination of the two waters, found both of them characterised in a way which, in the light of present medical knowledge, seems to me of very bad significance—i.e., not only containing such larger organic forms as may merely represent defective filtration, but also infected by those extremely minute actively-moving particles (apparently the microzymes of our contagion research) which, if not at present to be identified as actual seeds of disease, at least "probably afford proof that chemical decomposition is in actual progress, and that the water containing them is in such a state as to be improper for consumption." Next, as regards the causes of the turbidity, Mr. Radcliffe found two sufficient explanations for the frequent or habitual delivery of turbid water by the Southwark and Vauxhall and Lambeth companies: first, that the works had not provided sufficient extent of filtering surface; and, secondly, that the works had not enabled sufficient time to be allowed for subsidence, preliminary to filtration. In the case of the Southwark and Vauxhall company (which before Mr. Radcliffe's inquiry had taken measures to remedy the above deficiencies) the deficiencies had been of the worse effect; and, owing to the company's further want of service-reservoir, the rate of filtration had had to be very greatly accelerated during the hours of maximum supply. And in the case of the Lambeth company there had been also a special disadvantage in the fact that this company (in common with the Chelsea company) draws its supply of water from a part of the Thames which is peculiarly apt to be turbid. Mr. Radcliffe further concluded that, in the case of the Southwark and Vauxhall company, the turbidity had certainly in some cases been caused by the admission of unfiltered water from the subsidence reservoirs direct into the pump wells for distribution, and probably, in certain other instances, by the admission of tidal water from the Thames. With regard to the latter most condemnatory opinion, he admits that water may have accidentally soaked or leaked from the river at Battersea Reach; but he also particularly points out that he found the company still maintaining the old conduit by which, prior to 1855, it normally filled its reservoirs from that part of the river. I think it, on the whole, probable that the company is not guilty of having intentionally drawn tidal water from the Thames; but that it intentionally distributed unfiltered water from its subsidence reservoirs, and at least negligently received an admixture of tidal water from Battersea Reach, cannot, I think, be disputed. Of course, as regards any possibility of accidental leakage or soakage from the river, the company's works ought to be so constructed that no such accident could happen. And as regards the possibility of intentional malfeasance in either of the respects here referred to, I quote, with entire concurrence, Mr. Radcliffe's practical suggestion:—"It should be required absolutely of the company that the communication of the reservoirs at Battersea with the tidal portion of the Thames, by means of the old conduit leading to Battersea Reach, and the direct communication of the subsidence reservoirs with the pump well, should be entirely cut off. Any contingencies that might arise which would apparently at the moment justify the company, as a matter of expedience, and notwithstanding the illegality of the acts, in taking water into their reservoirs through the conduit communicating with the tidal water of the Thames, or in permitting unfiltered water to pass directly from the subsidence reservoirs into the engine wells for distribution, can be provided for in other and more legitimate modes."

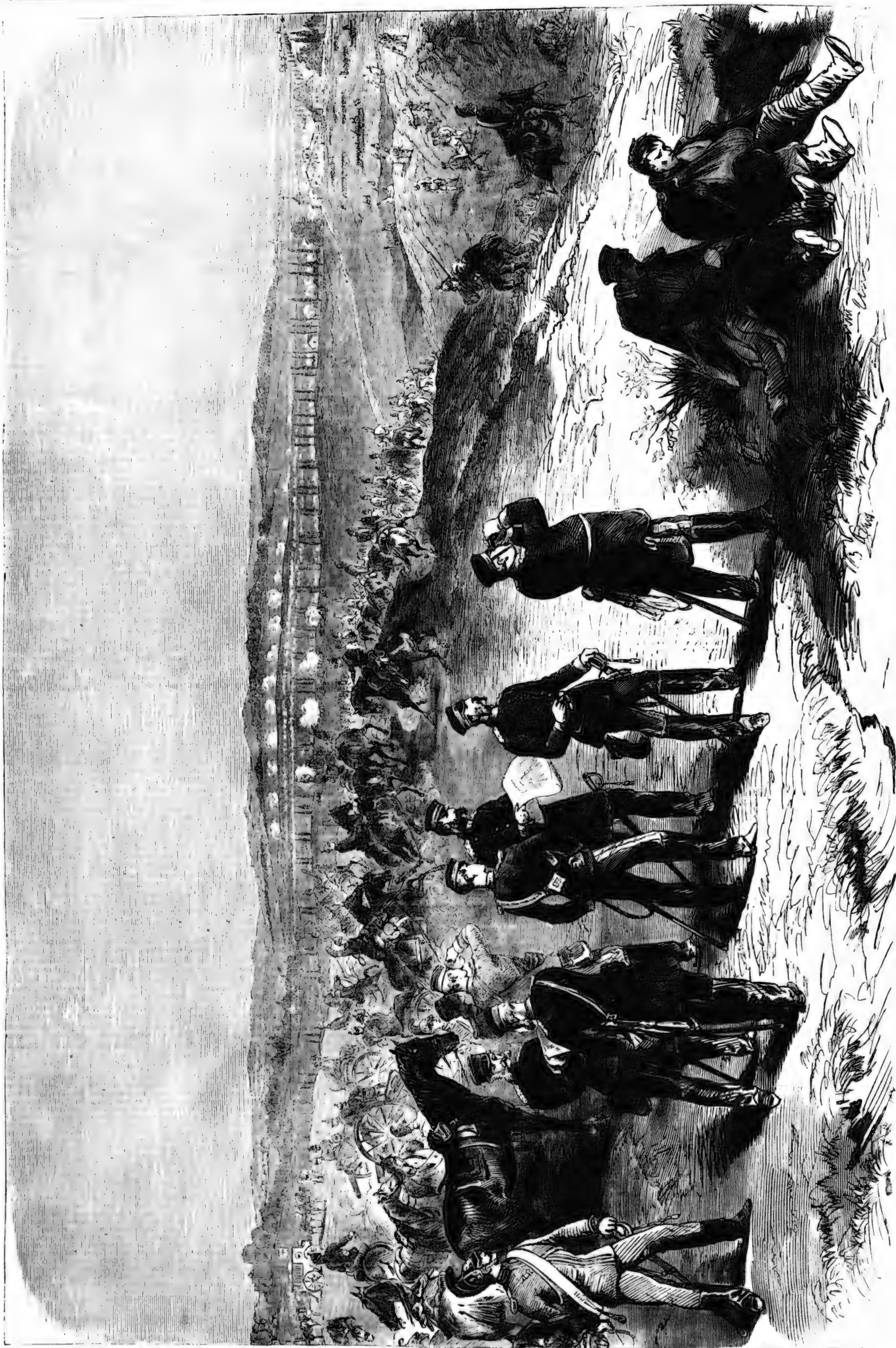
Mr. Simon recalls to public notice several occasions on which, in epidemics, it has been found that the population drinking bad water have suffered and died to a great extent as those who were able to obtain a supply of better water. A fatal epidemic in a town has also been clearly traced to the use in one part of it of foul and polluted water. Doubts are widely entertained whether cholera, typhoid, fever, dysentery, and other allied disorders, or some of these diseases, can possibly attain general prevalence in a town except where the faulty water supply develops them by being infected with specific contagion. Mr. Simon proceeds:—

From this digression on the general question of the influence of foul water supplies on the distribution of certain epidemic diseases I return to the particular question of the water supply of this metropolis. I have been anxious to show, even if redundantly, what enormous risks to the public are implied in any slovenly administration of such supplies; yet, as regards the London supply, what imperfect obedience to the law, and in some cases what systematic and flagrant disobedience, was exhibited during the time to which Mr. Radcliffe's inquiry referred; and above all, what criminal indifference to the public safety was illustrated by the proceedings of the Southwark and Vauxhall company. In the case of this company, not only had there been the long-standing gross insufficiency of the apparatus of subsidence and filtration—an insufficiency which at length, under continued pressure from without, is said to have been for the time amended—but, worse, the administrators of the supply had from time to time, as they found convenient, dispensed to a great extent with even a pretence of filtration, and during part of the time under review had, worst of all, either negligently or wilfully distributed as part of their supply the interdicted tidal water of Battersea Reach. What might have been the result of these malfeasances if cholera infection had at the time been in London the reader of my previous pages can judge. In those pages are stated some of the dreadful antecedents of this very company in that same relation to human life; homicidal antecedents on a really stupendous scale; antecedents as to which the company might no doubt urge in extenuation that, till fourteen years ago, the injuriousness of its then water supply was unproven; but as to which, since the report of 1856, the damatory proof has been absolute. And this company, with those antecedents, is now found the worst offender against the too lenient Act of 1852; experimenting again, as though its previous experiments had been inconclusive, on the lives of some hundreds of thousands of people; and apparently trusting (but may be with an ill-founded trust) that the forgetfulness or indifference of public opinion will condone also this iniquity. My duty to the public obliges me most urgently to represent the extreme inadequacy of the law, in its present state, to provide for the public safety against such perils as are here under consideration; and in this context I beg leave to repeat the language which I used three years ago, when referring in my ninth report to the then recent calamity of the East London cholera epidemic, as connected with an illegal and most culpable act of the East London Water company—"It seems to me that the public is hitherto very imperfectly protected against certain extreme dangers which the malfeasance of a water company, supplying perhaps half a million of customers, may suddenly bring upon great masses of population. Its colossal power of life and death is something for which till recently there has been no precedent in the history of the world; and such a power, in whatever hands it is vested, ought most religiously to be guarded against abuse. I venture to submit that the penalty of £200, which the Metropolitan Water Act imposes for a violation of its provisions, is utterly incommensurate with the magnitude of the public danger which a lax administration of the law represents; and it is certain that in 1852, when this statute was enacted, the state of science did not yet enable the Legislature to know, as it must

now be known, that a water company distributing sewage-tainted water may in a day take hundreds of lives. In theory, no doubt, it would appear that Lord Campbell's Act (9 and 10 Vict., cap. 93) must apply to cases of this description; that actions for damages are maintainable against water companies by the families of persons whom any wrongful act, neglect, or default of such companies has thus killed; and of course that the person himself, if injured but not killed, can have his own action for damages. But the difficulties in taking any such course at law would, I believe, be extreme. The proof generally as to the epidemic might be complete; it might be shown to the satisfaction of a jury that the outbreak, in mass, had been caused by the distribution of a certain water which some commercial company, with ignorant or prodigal laxity, had suffered to be polluted with sewage; but with all this clearly shown as to the epidemic generally, it might still be scarcely possible for any individual victim of the company's malfeasance to prove (if this had to be proven) that his particular attack came from the direct operation of that and no other cause. It is probably from a perception of this difficulty that, so far as I know, no proceedings for damages have ever yet been taken against a water company by persons whom the water has injured. And as the deterrent influence of such personal proceedings does not operate in aid of the general law, it is, I submit, especially to be desired that any wilful or neglectful distribution of polluted water to the public should be punishable under the statute law in a very much higher degree than at present."

Mr. Simon's report, though not published until September, is dated last March; we may carry our account of London water to a later date than the report reaches. Professor Frankland, reviewing the entire year 1869, stated that the filtration of much of the water supplied to London still continued imperfect, but that the Southwark and Vauxhall company had, since Mr. Radcliffe's report, improved and extended its filtering apparatus, and during the last four months of 1869 it supplied perfectly clear and transparent water. No substantial improvement seemed to have been made in the Lambeth company's arrangements, as the water delivered in December was very turbid, and contained numerous living organisms. Professor Frankland's report on the waters supplied to the metropolis in January, 1870, was unfavourable. The floods in the Thames and Lea had brought those rivers to their maximum degree of winter pollution, and the resources of the water companies were strained to the utmost to deliver a supply which should not be obviously repulsive. The West Middlesex, New River, and Kent companies were successful in this. The Chelsea and Lambeth companies, which take their supply at a point below the junction of the muddy Mole with the Thames, supplied water so turbid as to be entirely unfit for domestic use without filtration. Living organisms were found in the suspended matter of the Chelsea, Southwark, and Grand Junction waters. The water supplied by the East London company was very turbid, owing to the presence of much suspended brown matter full of living organisms, among which vibrios were found; this was the first occasion since Dr. Frankland has examined the London waters microscopically that these organisms, which are abundant in putrid sewage, have been met with in these waters. In the next month (February) the organic matter in the waters was much less; but the Lambeth company's water was again turbid. So also it was in March, but the suspended matter exhibited no signs of animal life. The water delivered by the Chelsea company was very turbid, and contained living organisms. The rest of the waters were clear and transparent. In April all the waters were clear and transparent. In May they had attained their summer degree of purity, and the Thames waters scarcely contained more than a third of the amount of organic matter present in January; but the water supplied by the East London company contained some brown suspended particles, among which living organisms were observed. In June all the London waters were clear and transparent; those delivered by the West Middlesex, Grand Junction, and Kent companies contained the smallest proportion of organic elements, owing to their very thorough filtration. In July all the waters were clear and transparent except that of the East London company, which contained brown particles and filaments, among which living organisms were observed. This remark is repeated in the August report. The water abstracted in that month from the Thames, below its junction with the Mole, by the Chelsea and Lambeth companies, exhibited nearly twice as much sewage or animal contamination as that abstracted by the other companies above the junction. Owing chiefly to long storage in reservoirs, the evidence of previous sewage contamination had entirely disappeared from the East London water. The smallest proportion of organic elements was found in the water of the Kent company, drawn from deep wells in the chalk; the New River company's water stood next in that respect, and then that of the East London. The previous sewage or animal contamination in most of the metropolitan waters, in August, ranged from 450 parts in 100,000 to 1140; but Londoners are informed in the same report that at Glasgow, Manchester, Paisley, and various other places the waters supplied no evidence at all of any such pollution. This contamination of the London waters, after their descent to the earth as rain, is, so far as analysis can show, by gradual oxidation, partly in the pores of the soil, partly in the river, and partly in the reservoirs, filters, and conduits of the companies, converted into innocuous inorganic compounds before the delivery of the water to the consumers; but there is always a risk lest some portion, not capable of being detected by chemical or microscopical analysis, should have escaped decomposition. There is no practicable process known whereby water once contaminated by infected sewage can be so purified as to render its domestic use entirely free from risk; but in the case of deep well and spring water, if the proportion of previous contamination be small, the risk is very inconsiderable. The filtration to which such water has been subjected in passing down through so great a thickness of soil or rock, and the rapid oxidation of the organic matters contained in water when the latter percolates through a porous and aerated soil, afford a considerable guarantee that all noxious constituents have been removed. Dr. J. Burdon Sanderson, examining last year water drawn from the mains of the Southwark and Vauxhall company, found a considerable number of monads and particles of extreme minuteness endowed with active Brownian movements—particles either rodlike (in which case they were probably of the same nature with leptothrix filaments), or of round or oval contour, and which may be compared, he thinks, with the swarm-spores of Hallier. They probably afford proof that chemical decomposition is in actual progress, and that the water containing them is unfit for consumption.

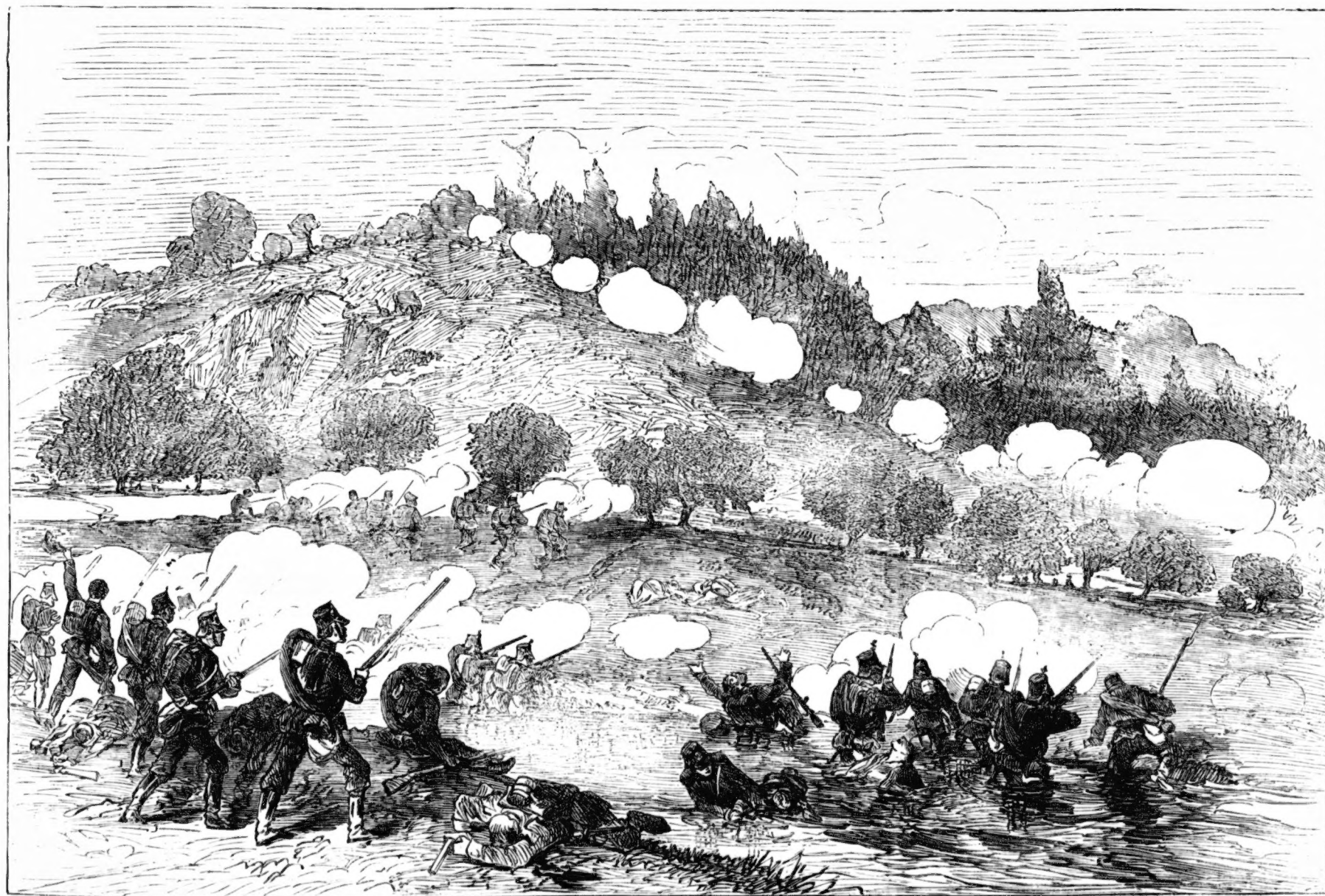
PROTECTION OF BRITISH SUBJECTS IN CHINA.—Mr. Otway has sent the following reply to the representations made by the meeting of merchants in the China trade, in relation to the massacre at Tien-Tsin:—"Foreign Office, Sept. 16. Sir,—I am directed by Earl Granville to acknowledge the receipt of the letter of yesterday's date on the subject of the recent massacre at Tien-Tsin, which was signed by you on behalf of the members of the deputation who had an interview with his Lordship on the previous day; and I am to acquaint you that it appears from a despatch, dated July 9, from Vice-Admiral Sir H. Kellett to the Lords of the Admiralty, that her Majesty's naval forces in China had been stationed as follows:—At Hong-Kong: The Princess Charlotte, the Banterer, the Starling, and the Bouncer. At Amoy: The Hornet and the Cockchafer. At Foo-Chow: The Severn. At Shanghai: The Barossa, the Zebra, the Dove, and the Firm. At Tien-Tsin: The Dwarf, the Avon, the Opossum, and the Grass-hopper. The Admiral in the Salamis, was to proceed the same day to Che-Foo. Commodore Price has since reported, in a despatch dated July 21, that the Banterer had been sent to Foo-Chow. There are also in the Japanese waters her Majesty's ships Ocean, Rinaldo, Sylvia, Elk, Midge, and the Adventure troop-ship. I am further to acquaint you that on the 20th ult. Mr. Wade was instructed to co-operate with the French Legation, in order to obtain the punishment of the parties who were concerned in the late outrage; and her Majesty's Government trust that the communications about to be made to the authorities in China will have the effect not only of procuring the punishment of the offenders, but also of deterring the Chinese from acts calculated to excite grave apprehensions on the part of British subjects in and connected with China. I am to remark further that the standing instructions to her Majesty's Consuls and naval officers in China as to the employment of her Majesty's ships of war are, in cases of great emergency, to protect the lives and properties of British subjects if placed in peril by wanton attacks directed against them, either on the part of the local authorities, or by an uncontrolled popular movement."



THE BATTLE OF GRAVELOTTE, ON AUG. 18: SAXON TROOPS ATTACKING STE. MARIE-AUX-CHÊNES, NEAR ST. PRIVAT.



CAPTURE OF A MITRAILLEUSE AT WORTH, ON AUG. 6, BY A COMPANY OF HESSIAN INFANTRY.



THE ELEVENTH BATTALION OF PRUSSIAN TIRAILLEURS (JAGERS) IN ACTION AT WORTH.

WAR SKETCHES.

CAPTURE OF A MITRAILLEUSE NEAR WORTH.

We have already published narratives of the earlier engagements of the great Franco-Prussian war; and, as we have previously remarked, some of the sketches that now reach us and appear in our columns illustrate that past history which has been so swiftly acted that only the pen, and not the pencil and the graver, could keep its due record. In the Numbers of the ILLUSTRATED TIMES that were published last month the battles both of Worth and Weissenbourg were chronicled, together with such incidents as were of most prominent interest; so that all we have now to do is to produce these lasting representations of episodes that illustrate particulars many of which have already been amply noticed. One of the Engravings which appear on page 204 is taken from a sketch, made by a wounded officer, of one of the sharpest of the detached encounters that preceded the final onslaught and the Prussian victory, the taking of one of those mitrailleuses which were doing such deadly execution on the Prussian ranks. This achievement was due to a company of Hessian infantry, who, although the men were being mowed down and their officers falling, charged upon the artillerymen who controlled the deadly engine and fairly captured it in a hand-to-hand fight, after a short but sharp conflict in which there was deadly strife that for a time rendered the result uncertain.

Another sketch of a portion of the same terrible battle at Worth represents

THE ATTACK OF THE SECOND PRUSSIAN JAGER BATTALION, which advanced against the wood and the heights, whence a murderous fire was being poured down upon them. For the general description of the plan of the engagement we must again refer our readers to accounts published in our former Numbers, merely alluding to this incident of the battle as illustrative of the smaller details, which after all, make up the entire scene of an important conflict.

SAXONS ATTACKING AT STE. MARIE-AUX-CHENES DURING THE BATTLE OF GRAVELOTTE.

Of the engagements which may be generally included in the series of battles that were waged about Metz we have also given a detailed account, and in those struggles which were decisive in favour of the German arms the Saxon contingent, of which we spoke a fortnight since, took a very prominent part. Our illustration represents the position of these troops on Aug. 18, when what may be called the final operations that resulted in the victory at Gravelotte were so anxiously watched from the eminence where the King and his staff remained to mark the events of the day. The First Army, with the 7th Corps, had been directed to take up a position south of Gravelotte, while the 8th Corps and the first cavalry division remained south of Rezonville, and another cavalry corps occupied the right bank of the Moselle before Metz. While this force was prepared to cover the advance of the Second Army in case the enemy should make a sortie from Metz, the troops of that second force advanced its left wing on the north road, at the same time keeping its right in communication with the protecting force, Saxon and Prussian cavalry skirmishers going in front of the investing troops as they advanced to take possession of the north main road. As the enemy did not retreat it was determined to bring both armies to the attack, the French having occupied the last high ground before Metz. At about mid-day the sound of cannonading showed that the conflict had begun at Verneville, and the First Army was at once ordered to take off the attention of the enemy by artillery firing on the ridges where he was stationed. The position was so strong, however, and the fire from the guns and mitrailleuses so sustained, that it became necessary to carry the entire front of the eminence where the French had consolidated their force. It was in the terrible struggle that ensued that the Saxon troops again proved their courage by hard fighting on the left wing, while the guards who had early advanced as far as Roncourt attacked near Ste. Marie-aux-Chenes, and subsequently on the difficult slopes of St. Privat-la-Montagne, the points represented in our Engraving. This battle, which ended the series of movements that cut the French communications from Metz to Paris, ended in the withdrawal of their troops into the intrenched camp of the fortress. It was dark before the engagement had ceased; and the King, who had during the latter part of the engagement directed operations from the hill of Gravelotte, then removed his headquarters to Rezonville. A correspondent, writing, on the 15th, from the locality where this great strategic movement took place, says:—"The shattered villages of St. Prival, Ste. Marie, &c., have not changed much in appearance externally. The same gaping rents remain in wall and roof; the same vacant spaces salute the view, in lieu of the battered doors and shivered windows; the same blackened ruins, felled fruit and forest trees, and hopelessly-trampled gardens, fields, and meadows, are yet there. The inhabitants have mostly returned from their hiding-places in the woods, and crept forth from their lurking-places in caves and cellars, only to find, in most cases, their wonted haunts unrecognisable and uninhabitable. The few houses and rooms in which shelter from the weather is still to be had are lined with neat double rows of clean beds, placed upon board frames, constructed by the German army carpenters. Between white sheets lie forms almost as white, heavily hurt, unable to turn right or left, and quietly waiting the near end. Others have the smile of returning life in their sparkling eyes, and a faint, young flush on their sunken cheeks. But everywhere a clear atmosphere and a peaceful spirit pervades the place—uncomplaining patience on the one hand, enduring devotion on the other, is manifest."

CAPTURE OF AN ENVOY FROM MARSHAL BAZAINE.

A correspondent of the *Bund Zeitung* of Berne, writing from Châlons, gives the following particulars respecting the capture of an emissary employed to carry despatches from Marshal Bazaine to Count Palikao:—"On Aug. 24 General Steinmetz received information that early on the following morning a messenger would leave Metz for Paris, bearing despatches from Marshal Bazaine to General Palikao. The informant stated that the messenger would be disguised as a Franciscan friar, journeying under cover of the red cross of the Treaty of Geneva, to minister spiritually to the wounded and dying who were in the neighbourhood of Metz. Every possible precaution was taken to prevent this important prize from slipping through our fingers. All our sentries received orders to stop all suspicious-looking persons, no matter how they were dressed, and to detain them until the arrival of the officer of the watch. Further, Captain Poisl was ordered to take half a squadron of Lancers and patrol all the country round. Our information proved to be correct: four scouts of the 14th Regiment of Lancers came across a Franciscan friar, in the Forest of Sauley, who was visiting the houses in which the wounded lay. The friar was immediately arrested and brought before Captain Poisl. When the Franciscan entered the Captain's quarters, he was offered a glass of wine to refresh himself, as he complained very much of the treatment he had met with at the hands of the Lancers, who had forcibly arrested him and hindered him from continuing his spiritual ministry. Captain Poisl expressed his regret that his men had not paid due respect to the spiritual calling of the friar, and then entered further into conversation with him, stating that no doubt peace would soon be concluded, and asking if the friar had not heard that such would soon be the case. The Captain also casually remarked that a few days before a brother of the Order of Franciscans had been seized and hung by the French on suspicion of being a spy. The friar turned very pale on hearing this, and could hardly speak for a minute, when he requested to be allowed to depart, as duty called him elsewhere. 'You may go,' said Captain Poisl, 'but first of all pray have the kindness to hand me the despatches you are bearing to Paris from Marshal Bazaine.' The Captain then threatened the friar with instant death unless he immediately complied. He turned as white as death, and, trembling in every limb, pointed towards his sandals, which were immediately ripped open. Between the soles of the

sandals were found three letters—one to Trochu, one to Palikao, and a detailed plan addressed to M'Mahon. The whole of the correspondence went to show that, unless Marshal Bazaine were speedily relieved, he would be driven to an act of desperation. 'The troops are wanting in everything, and our provisions are exhausted.' In the letter addressed to the Comte de Palikao was this significant phrase—'Prevent orders or proclamations from his Majesty from being published. I have appealed to my soldiers in the name of the country.' The plan which Bazaine suggested to M'Mahon for the relief of the army of Metz showed how little he knew of the real position of affairs; for he advised him to remain at Châlons to await the arrival of fresh troops from Paris, and then to march by Clermont, Dun, and Briey upon Metz. The envoy was sent to Spandau."

THE WAR.

COMPLETE INVESTMENT OF PARIS.

FOR several days past we have been hearing of the advance made by the German columns towards and around the French capital; one by one the roads, the railroads, and telegraphs which connected Paris with the world have been sealed by the enemy; and now the Parisians are completely shut in from us. Not a word, even by telegraph, has been heard from the city since Monday, and Thursday morning's despatches from Berlin clearly let us "know the reason why." From the Royal headquarters at Meaux, under date of Tuesday, we learn that the "complete investment of Paris by the advance of all the corps was accomplished" on the day preceding; and a telegram from the Crown Prince to Queen Augusta, dated from Versailles also on Tuesday, briefly describes the part which the Third Army has taken in the investment. It has driven the French troops back within the line of the southern forts, captured with slight loss an outwork and seven cannon, and formed the line of investment from Versailles to Vincennes. Another telegram, from the King himself to Queen Augusta, indicates the tightening of the grasp of the investing army to the north of the city. On Monday, at the appearance of the German troops, the French positions at Pierrefitte were abandoned. Pierrefitte is a village due north of St. Denis, between one and two miles distant, standing at the base of a range of heights that extend from the Oise almost to St. Denis; and the abandonment of the position enables the Germans to rest their right flank solidly on the Seine, at the top of the great loop to the north-east which it makes along the western side of Paris. The whole line from St. Denis, across the Marne and the Seine, round to Versailles, is therefore now firmly occupied by the troops of the invaders; and from Versailles to the heights of Enghien or Pierrefitte the German cavalry doubtless keeps a sharp watch over the routes that lead out of Paris towards the west.

Both the Crown Prince's and the King's telegrams mention a repulse of the French troops on the day or days preceding the actual investment; and it is evident that the engagement to which they refer is the same as that in which French telegrams from Orleans averred the Prussians to have been defeated and driven, by one story to Arpajon, by another back across the Seine. The French troops engaged are said to have been three divisions, under the command of General Vinoy, numbering probably from 25,000 to 30,000 men; and their attack—for they were the assailants—seems to have been made at the heights of Sceaux, in front of Versailles, near which Wissous and Champlan are situated. On the German side the 5th Prussian and 2nd Bavarian Corps were engaged—50,000 or 55,000 men, if the whole force were in the field, which is not likely, since they appear to have been attacked on the march. They had crossed the Seine at Villeneuve-St. George, where a bridge had been laid, and were marching westward, when General Vinoy, who had come from them northwards—that is, from Paris—fell upon them, probably in flank. It is conceivable, though we have only the French account to warrant the belief that the Germans were at first taken somewhat at a disadvantage; and hence may have arisen the reports of their being driven off southward to Monthey and Arpajon, or forced back across the Seine. Or possibly the story of the retreat southward may have sprung from an actual aggressive movement of part of the Germans in that direction—an idea which is fairly borne out by later news that they have entered Nemours and Pithiviers, on the roads from Paris towards Orleans, Gien, and the line of the Loire. However this may be, the significant silence from Paris fully corroborates the Prussian assertion, that at the heights of Sceaux the French were not the victors. They lost seven cannon, 2000 or 3000 prisoners, besides killed and wounded—not, indeed, without causing severe losses to the Prussians, whose 7th Regiment suffered severely; they were driven back within the line of southern forts; and the enemy gave the best assurance of success by marching straight on to Versailles, and completely disabling Paris from sending us a single word about General Vinoy's "victory."

THE PEACE NEGOTIATIONS.

M. Jules Favre, having, through the British Government, obtained permission to visit the headquarters of the King of Prussia, has gone there, and has been received by Count Bismarck. On this subject the *Times* of Thursday says:—"We are definitely informed that the negotiations between Count Bismarck and M. Jules Favre are still in progress, but the points which have been as yet discussed between them seem to be preliminary only. It is at Ferrières, the magnificent country seat of Baron Alphonse de Rothschild, that the two representatives of the nations in arms are endeavouring to arrive at terms of peace. Ferrières, since Tuesday, has been the headquarters of King William. The progress of the negotiations is slow, and those who are impatient for an end of this desolating war may be tempted to lose heart when they hear that so little has been done; but we may at least be permitted to hope that an apparently tedious delay will be counterbalanced by an equitable and permanent peace. The Chancellor of the Confederation and the French Minister have thus far confined themselves to considering the means by which any terms of peace that may be provisionally agreed upon between the King and the Government of Defence should be submitted to the Constituent Assembly for its sanction and approbation. The terms of peace themselves have not yet been discussed. Count Bismarck has evidently made it an essential point, before debating any proposed treaty, that some kind of guarantee should be given that the treaty will be accepted by the representatives of the nation, or that, in the event of its rejection by them, the German Powers shall suffer no loss of military advantage by the delay."

Count Bismarck is said to insist on the occupation of Strasbourg and Metz. Paris will be starved out if his terms are not complied with.

Mr. Motley telegraphed last Saturday to Mr. Secretary Fish that the assertion according to which Prussia intends to reinstate Napoleon and will not treat except with the Regency is false, but that Prussia regards the present Government of France as unstable, and incapable of giving lasting guarantees.

THE SIEGE OF STRASBOURG.

The besiegers of Strasbourg appear to have gained an important footing in a part of the defences on Tuesday night. One of the lunettes was taken, with trifling loss. The Germans found less resistance than they had expected. The possession of this position is very important, as it renders the acquisition of the others easy. It is expected that proposals for capitulation will soon be received. The siege continues because General Werder insists upon unconditional surrender. The greater part of the fortifications is a mass of ruins. It is said that the place could now be taken by storm at a risk of losing 2000 men in the operation. Nitro-glycerine projectiles, to be thrown into the powder-magazines from balloons, are in preparation.

Letters from before Strasbourg in the Carlsruhe and Frankfurt papers mention that on the 13th, 3000 persons, mostly children

and aged women, were allowed to leave the town, and, for the most part, took up their residence in the neighbouring villages. The churchyard is entirely under water. By the diversion of the river Ill the water poured into Strasbourg in such a manner that the inhabitants caught multitudes of fishes. Valuable horses are every day slaughtered, the soldier receiving half a pound of horse-flesh daily as rations. Two hundred persons, mostly women, perished by the burning of the theatre, they having sought shelter in the basement rooms from the Zouaves and Turcos. Many soldiers have been burnt to death in those portions of the citadel which are not fire proof.

MISCELLANEOUS WAR NEWS.

Toul, having held out against field-guns, is now being bombarded by heavy artillery. Its capture, which will open continuous railway communication from Germany to Paris, is expected shortly. Meanwhile, the heavy guns taken at Sedan have been sent to Paris by the Northern Railway.

The numerous estimates, more or less correct, of the French losses at Sedan which have been given to the world are now followed by the official military report, published in the Berlin *Moniteur*. As the surrender of M'Mahon's army, on the 1st inst., is an event unique in the history of war, an authoritative statement respecting its extent and conditions is of value. The Crown Prince of Saxony's division made 11,000 prisoners during the day, and captured twenty-five guns, seven mitrailleuses, two flags, and one eagle. The 5th and 11th Corps contributed more than 10,000 prisoners; and, adding the prisoners taken by the Bavarian troops, there was a total of about 25,000 men who fell into the hands of the Germans during the battle alone. Besides these, 83,000 became prisoners of war under the capitulation. Fourteen thousand French wounded were found in and around Sedan; but whether these are included among the 83,000 does not clearly appear. More than 400 guns, including seventy mitrailleuses, 184 fortress guns, and an extremely large war matériel fell also into the hands of the victors. Only about 3000 men succeeded in escaping to Belgium. If the losses of the battle of Beaumont on the 30th ult. are included, M'Mahon's army numbered nearly 150,000 men. Within three days this army had ceased to exist, its whole force, with the exception of the 3000 escaped to Belgium, being either killed, wounded, or prisoners. Among the matériel taken at Sedan were 100,000 chassepots and 80,000 cwt. of powder. General de Failly (who, it seems, was not killed, as reported) and his Staff have arrived at Mayence. All the captured Generals and officers live in hotels or furnished apartments, mostly at Government expense.

MUSIC.

THE forthcoming appearance of Mr. Santley, Mr. W. H. Cummings, and other excellent English artists at the Gaiety Theatre, may prove an event of greater significance than it now seems to many. Another serious effort is about being made in a view to establish opera in English as a recognised branch of public amusement, and few, under the circumstances, will venture to prophesy its failure. We need hardly discuss the conditions of the many efforts that have failed. Most people know, for example, that English opera—under which term we include opera in English—has been regarded more in the light of a *pis aller* than anything else. Taken up as a temporary expedient at seasons when nothing beside would serve; carried out in a manner essentially makeshift, and upon terms which barred the services of efficient artists, this form of entertainment has acquired a character hard to fight against. We have, nevertheless, some hopes of the Gaiety effort. In the first place, the theatre is well adapted for such performances as come within the range of its operative scheme. Next, the company engaged is not only the best available, but really good. The merits of Mr. Santley, both as singer and actor, need no demonstration; while the efficiency of Madame Florence Lancia, Miss Goodall, Mr. W. H. Cummings, Mr. Charles Lyall, and Mr. Aynsley Cooke, has long been admitted. About the promised excellence of the orchestra under Herr Meyer Lutz and of the chorus we can say nothing; it may, however, be assumed that Mr. Santley has, in justice to his own reputation, obtained ample guarantees on these important points. So far as the class of works to be performed are yet known, there is every reason for satisfaction. We are not again to be bored with "Bohemian Girls," "Maritanas," and the rest of the music-shop operas known as English. Instead thereof—a pleasant change, indeed—adaptations of well-known foreign works are to be presented; and Herold's "Zampa" as well as Donizetti's "Betley" are already announced. Of course in such a matter the management must carefully feel its way; but we should not be surprised to find these lighter works succeeded by others more substantial, and, to the musical amateur, more interesting. Should the Gaiety enterprise succeed—and its prospects are of the fairest—opera in English will at length have found its home. How in such a case Italian opera may be affected, is a field of speculation upon which we cannot enter.

Music, as usual, enters largely into the scheme of the Workmen's International Exhibition at the Agricultural Hall; but we are sorry to observe its quality. Under such auspices, the best possible should be given, so that entertainment may not be entertainment merely. The managers, however, appear satisfied to tickle the ears of their working-class constituents, leaving the work of education for others to do. We judge thus from "Two Grand Special Concerts of National Melodies," in the programme of which appeared the names of artists unknown to fame, with a foreign song-composer, Herr Keyloff, as conductor; the principal attractions being "God Bless the Prince of Wales" and "The March of the Men of Harlech." We are far from saying that entertainments like these do harm; but their merit is, at most, of a negative sort. Moreover, they absorb time and energy which might be devoted to music of a higher kind and having a greater claim upon the regard of those whose ostensible object is to improve and refine.

The war on the Continent, more or less affecting everything, from the map of Europe down to the holiday trip of Brown, Jones, and Robinson, is having an influence upon music and musical people. We make no reference to the flood of war songs which have poured from the London publishing-houses all over the country, so that the "Wacht am Rhein" and "Mourir pour la Patrie" are as familiar here as the one is in Germany and the other in France. This aspect of war-results may be worth contemplating; but we look, for the moment, at the rout to which the sword has put the more illustrious artists. Usually, at this time of the year, they are reaping golden harvests at Continental baths, and laying up store for the time when there shall come a rift in the lute and its strings be silent. Now, alas! war dominating, and the only music tolerated being that of trumpet and drum, the artists have turned off on other tracks, some barren, others, possibly, resultful. Nilsson is in America, far beyond the sound of cannon; and her great rival, Patti, cut off from Baden and Homburg, has come to England in hope of doing business among our provincial towns. She travels with a "scratch" company, and will be the "bright particular star" wherever she goes. It is, proverbially, an ill wind that blows nobody good; and country amateurs have to thank the war for sending among them the most charming songstress of the day. Let us hope that a due appreciation of the favour will be shown.

AID FOR THE SICK AND WOUNDED.—The amount of subscriptions received by the National Society for the Relief of the Sick and Wounded in War, up to Monday, was £162,737; but although these figures are large, they do not represent a sum beyond daily wants. Upwards of 1000 bales and cases of material of various kinds, or an average of three tons daily, have been already dispatched to the hospitals in France and Germany. The number of persons at present engaged in the service of the National Society for the Aid of the Sick and Wounded in the War is 110; of these, 62 are surgeons, and 16 ladies who are acting as nurses. An interesting feature in the proceedings of the association is the recent departure for the seat of war of eight nurses, seven of whom were sisters of mercy from the All-Saints' Home, Margaret-street. These ladies are all expert and carefully trained in the melancholy duties they have voluntarily undertaken.

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Sold by all
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Stores most wanted at present are Calico Shirts, Flannel
Coats, Trousers, Cholera Belts, Woolen Socks, and Slippers.
The Committee cannot receive Contributions sent for the
wounded of one belligerent Army, or for individuals of either
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O. J. BURGESS, Secretary,
2, St. Martin's-place, Sept. 20, 1870.

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and Upholsterers, Paul-street and Workshop-street,
Finsbury-square, London, beg to announce the
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Established upwards of Forty Years.

FISH-EATING KNIVES and FORKS.
DEANE and CO. have in Stock a large and elegant variety
of these articles, quality and price warranted the best.
Prices, per dozen Knives, from 42s. to 105s.; and with Forks, in
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With Lists of Prices, and plans of the 20 large Show-Rooms, at
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